

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1249718-1

Total Deleted Page(s) = 16

Page 11 ~ b3; b7D;  
Page 12 ~ b3;  
Page 15 ~ b3;  
Page 26 ~ b3; b7D;  
Page 29 ~ b3;  
Page 196 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D;  
Page 197 ~ b7D;  
Page 224 ~ b3; b7D;  
Page 237 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 238 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 239 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 257 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 262 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 264 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 265 ~ Duplicate;  
Page 272 ~ Duplicate;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X For this Page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: June 11, 1946

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: EARL R. BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/17/99 BY [redacted]

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	b6
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Penning	b7C
Mr. Quinn T.	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

It will be noted that there are attached the following communications: (1) A cablegram to Special Agent Gimperman in London, and (2) a memorandum to Mr. Fred Lyon of the Department of State, setting forth the most recent developments affecting the subject and his trip to the Soviet Union. You will recall that Confidential Informant [redacted] originally advised that Browder proceeded to the Soviet Union for the purpose of re-establishing himself with Soviet officials and for the additional purpose of obtaining clearance for his objectives in leading the Communist movement in the United States. He is said to be desirous of obtaining such backing in the Soviet Union which will assist him in resuming his former position as leader of the Communist Party, USA.

It will be further recalled that Abraham A. Heller, former Communist Party member of long standing who resigned from the Party because of Browder's treatment, contemplated joining Browder in the Soviet Union, possibly to assist him as an interpreter. Heller has now departed for the Soviet Union by way of London and Stockholm. He will join the subject in Moscow. Informant [redacted] has advised that because of Heller's trip to the USSR, Browder has delayed his departure date from the Soviet Union from June 9, 1946, to July 1. According to this informant, William Browder, the brother of Earl, has stated that in communications from Earl Browder optimism was expressed by his brother who indicated that his trip has been a success far exceeding his fondest hopes.

What is believed to be significant in connection with Browder's trip to the Soviet Union is the postponement of the holding of the National Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist Party. This was scheduled for the period June 25 - 27, 1946. It has now been postponed "in view of the present situation" and will not be held until July 16, 1946.

Action

RECORDED

INDEXED

1. It is recommended that the attached communications be forwarded.

2. The New York Field Division has made arrangements through the cooperation of Customs and Immigration authorities at LaGuardia Airport for a thorough search of the effects of Browder on his return to the United States. They have also made arrangements for the photographing of any documents and papers carried by Browder. In this regard, it is inevitable that Browder will realize he is being given special attention by officials upon his entry. Regardless of Browder's views in this matter, it is felt that any documents or papers which he might have would be most significant in view of the purpose of his trip to the Soviet Union and also in view of the postponement of the National Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist Party. In this regard, it might be noted that there has been speculation in some areas by Communist functionaries as to the true story behind Browder's visit to the Soviet Union and as to what the outcome will be upon his return.

JUL 9 1946  
JWW:elk

U S DEPARTMENT  
COMMUNICATIONS

JUN 6 1946

TELETYPE

CONF WASH 2 AND WASHINGTON FIELD 1 FROM NEW YORK 6 12-12 PM

DIRECTOR AND SAC.....URGENT

EARL R. BROWDER, IS C. REBUREAU MAY THIRTYFIRST AND TELETYPE JUNE  
FOUR LAST. ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR COOPERATION CUSTOMS AND IMMIGRATION  
AUTHORITIES LAGUARDIA AIRPORT FOR THOROUGH SEARCH EFFECTS OF BROWDER  
ON HIS ARRIVAL ALSO FOR PHOTOGRAPHING OF DOCUMENTS AND PAPERS BY BUREAU  
AGENTS. UNDER ANY ARRANGEMENTS POSSIBLE IT IS INEVITABLE THAT  
BROWDER WILL REALIZE HE IS BEING GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION. NO INFO  
AVAILABLE HERE ON HIS RETURN TRIP EXCEPT NEWSPAPER STORY. AMERICAN  
OVERSEAS AIRLINE RECEIVES PASSENGER LIST FROM EUROPE TEN HOURS OR  
LESS BEFORE TIME OF ARRIVAL OF PLANE FROM OVERSEAS AT LAGUARDIA  
AIRPORT. AS INFO FROM CI [REDACTED] INDICATES BROWDER TO AWAIT  
ARRIVAL SOMEONE, BELIEVED TO BE ABRAHAM A. HELLER, AT MOSCOW,  
BROWDERS DEPARTURE MAY BE CHANGED FROM NEWSPAPER VERSION. THERE-  
FORE REQUEST WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE HAVE CHECK MADE BY STATE DEPT.  
ON BROWDER AND HIS PLANS AND MOVEMENTS AT BOTH MOSCOW AND STOCKHOLM  
SO BUREAU AND NYFD CAN BE KEPT INFORMED ON TIME OF HIS DEPARTURE AND  
MEANS OF TRAVEL BEING USED. ALSO CHECK STATE DEPT FOR INFO ON  
ISSUANCE OF PASSPORT RECENTLY TO ABRAHAM A. HELLER.

b7D

ONROY

ACK AND DISC PLS

WFO 1946 23  
ED BY DH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Best Copy Available

RECORDED

393  
June 11, 1946

SPECIAL MESSENGER

Mr. Frederick B. Lyon  
Chief  
Division of Foreign Activity Correlation  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

EARL B. BROWDER

This Bureau has been confidentially advised that Abraham J. Heller departed June 7, 1946, en route to the Soviet Union by way of London and Stockholm. It is reliably reported that Browder changed his departure date from the Soviet Union from June 9, 1946, to July 1, 1946, at which time he is scheduled to return to the United States with Heller.

It is further reported that in communications sent by Browder to friends in the United States he has expressed optimism and has indicated that his trip has been a success, allegedly far exceeding his fondest hopes.

What is believed to be significant in connection with Browder's trip to the Soviet Union is the postponement of the National Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist Party which was scheduled to be held in New York City beginning June 25, 1946, for a period of three days. It is reliably reported that this Plenum has now been postponed until July 16, 1946.

You will be informed of any pertinent developments in this particular matter.

Declassified by  
on 5/24/77



b6  
b7C

HW:elk

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Declassification  
DATE 10/17/77

1946



WASH FROM NEW YORK 28 7 7-01 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [REDACTED]

EARL R. BROWDER, IS-C. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ INFORMANT [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT WM.  
E. BROWDER STATED THAT ABRAHAM A. HELLER WAS DEPARTING FIVE PM EDST JUNE  
SEVEN FORTY SIX FOR MOSCOW. BECAUSE OF HELLER-S TRIP, SUBJECT HAD CHANGED  
HIS DEPARTURE DATE FROM JUNE NINE TO JULY ONE AT WHICH TIME THEY WOULD  
RETURN TOGETHER. WM. BROWDER STATED COMMUNICATIONS FROM SUBJECT  
WERE OPTIMISTIC IN TONE AND INDICATED TRIP A SUCCESS, FAR EXCEEDING HIS  
FONDEST HOPES. [REDACTED] REPORTED DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE IN DIFFICULT FINANCIAL  
CIRCUMSTANCES. WM. BROWDER IS ENDEAVORING TO SECURE TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS  
FROM JOHN H. REYNOLDS. HE WILL LEARN JUNE TEN WHETHER LOAN GRANTED.  
IT WAS LEARNED HELLER LEFT LA GUARDIA FIELD VIA PAN AMERICAN WORLD  
AIRWAYS AT FIVE FIVE PM . EDST, JUNE SEVEN, EN ROUTE USSR BY WAY OF  
LONDON AND STOCKHOLM.

CONROY JUL 8 1946

HOLD PLS

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7C  
b7D

RECORDED

INDEXED

40-37987-19

EX-33

Callahan  
6-11-46  
affirmed  
H. J. [unclear]  
6-11-46

cc: Mr. [unclear]  
Mr. [unclear]

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Best Copy Available

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

JUNE 11, 1946

Transmit the following message to:

LEGAL ATTACHE — CIPHER PAD CODE  
LONDON, ENGLAND

155  
10  
EARL R. BROWDER, IS - C. ABRAHAM A. HELLER SCHEDULED TO HAVE DEPARTED JUNE SEVENTH INSTANT FOR MOSCOW. REPORTED THAT BECAUSE OF HELLER'S TRIP TO MOSCOW BROWDER CHANGED DEPARTURE DATE FROM JUNE NINE TO JULY ONE, CONTEMPLATING RETURNING TO US WITH HELLER. IT IS ALLEGED BROWDER HAS SENT MESSAGES TO FRIENDS IN US OPTIMISTIC IN TONE AND INDICATING TRIP A SUCCESS. HELLER'S ROUTE TO USSR BY WAY OF LONDON AND STOCKHOLM. BELIEVED SIGNIFICANT THAT NATIONAL PLENUM OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE CPUSA POSTPONED UNTIL JULY SIXTEEN. ENTIRELY POSSIBLE POSTPONEMENT MADE IN LIGHT OF BROWDER'S DELAY IN RETURNING TO US. YOU WILL BE ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENT.

EHW:elk

cc - SIS European Desk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/23/00 BY

Enc RBH + ZC 620-1730  
# 949  
Cld RA + RBH

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
JUN 12 3 46 PM '46

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
JUN 12 1 02 PM '46

b6  
b7C

✓ RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Miss Gandy

NT VIA

Cable 6/13/46

2:17 P M

Per

M.W.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 19 1946

**TELETYPE**

WASH FROM NEW YORK 26

**DIRECTOR**

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Card*

**DATE**

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ISC. CI

ADVISED THAT AN

UNIDENTIFIED PERSON CONFERRED WITH WILLIAM Z. FOSTER AND ADVISED FOSTER THAT HE HAS COPY OF A UNITED PRESS DISPATCH OF M. S. HANDLER. THIS DISPATCH SAID THAT EARL BROWDER HAD SIGNED A FIVE YEAR CONTRACT AS THE EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES IN THE US. IN THIS INTERVIEW WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE UNIDENTIFIED PERSON, TOOK PLACE IN MOSCOW, BROWDER SAID HE HOPED TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION WITH REGULARITY PERHAPS EVERY YEAR OR TWO. HE STATED THAT HE IS AN OLD FRIEND OF THE USSR AND THAT HIS VISIT HAD NO CONNECTION WITH AMERICAN POLITICS EXCEPT IN SO FAR AS SOVIET AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP IS A POLITICAL MATTER. THIS DISPATCH ALSO INDICATED THAT A. A. HELLER WAS PRESENT AT THE INTERVIEW AND THAT HELLER-S REPORTED PURPOSE FOR BEING IN MOSCOW WAS TO RENEW OLD CONTACTS. BROWDER STATED THAT LIKE ALL RETIRED POLITICIANS, HE WILL WRITE HIS MEMOIRS UPON HIS RETURN HOME. THIS INDIVIDUAL AND FOSTER LAUGHED AT THE MENTION OF QUOTE RETIRED POLITICIAN UNQUOTE. FOSTER STATED QUOTE WE-LL KEEP HIM IN THAT STATUS UNQUOTE. THIS

END PAGE ONE

RECORDED

F B I

80 JUN 26 1946

ORIGINAL - DISPOSED

EXEMPT FROM GDS, CATEGORY *b*

b6  
b7C

b7D

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

b6  
b7C

PAGE TWO

INDIVIDUAL MAY HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH THE DAILY WORKER BECAUSE IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION BY FOSTER AS TO WHETHER HE WILL PUBLISH THE CONTENTS OF THIS DISPATCH, THE PERSON SAID HE WOULD ONLY PUBLISH A FEW LINES. FURNISHED FOR INFO.

*Ag*  
CONROY

HOLD PLS

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK 12 21 5-05 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

①  
EARL R. BROWDER, ISC. LOCAL PAPER CARRIES AP MOSCOW DISPATCH, JUNE  
TWENTY SAYING EARL BROWDER LEFT MOSCOW THAT DATE FOR PARIS ENROUTE TO US.  
BECAUSE OF COMMUNICATION DIFFICULTIES TWA INTERNATIONAL NOT RECEIV-  
ING FLIGHT MANIFEST INFO PRIOR TO ACTUAL ARRIVAL AT LAGUARDIA AIRPORT  
OF PLANES FROM EUROPE. SUGGEST STATE DEPARTMENT BE REQUESTED TO INS-  
STRUCT EMBASSY AT PARIS TO CHECK CLOSELY AND FORWARD BY QUICKEST AVAIL-  
ABLE MEANS DETAILED INFO ON TIME OF EARL BROWDERS DEPARTURE FROM PARIS,  
HIS ITINERARY, AND METHOD OF TRAVEL TO THE US.

HOLD PLS

EX-35

1

JUN 26 1946

RECORDED

140-3798-396

F E

CONROY

cc: Mr. Ladd

60 JUL 8 1946

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

FROM : J. C. Strickland

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSEL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: June 25, 1946

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

As you know, the Legal Attache at Paris has cabled information to the effect that Browder is to arrive in New York City at approximately midnight June 24, 1946. According to information received by the Legal Attache at Paris, Browder will make a report to the Department of State upon his arrival in the United States.

It is felt that the Bureau, through the Liaison Section, should contact Mr. Fred Lyon at the State Department in an effort to make arrangements to obtain the results of any interview that the Department of State might have with Browder.

It will be recalled that Browder in May, 1946, went to the Soviet Union for the purpose of, according to confidential informant [redacted] to attempt to obtain support from various officials of the Soviet Union and then return to the United States with such support in an endeavor to regain his lost leadership of the Communist movement in the United States. Browder delayed his return, according to the informant, in order that Abraham A. Heller, former Communist Party member and former head of International Publishers, could meet him in the Soviet Union. The ostensible purpose of Heller's trip there was to act as an interpreter and as an assistant to Browder. Since Heller's trip to the Soviet Union the informant has learned that possibly Browder and/or Heller upon their return to the United States might engage in activities which would place them in the category of a Soviet Agent.

b7D

ACTION:

It is recommended that the Liaison Section through Mr. Fred Lyon attempt to obtain any results secured through an interview with Browder. It is believed advisable to have Liaison Section discreetly point out to Mr. Fred Lyon the allegations received by the informant as to the possible activity on the part of Browder serving as an Agent of the Soviet Union. Browder, it will be recalled, was stated in the press to have secured a contract or at least an agency relationship to serve Soviet publishing concerns as their representative in the United States.

EHW:AM

59 JUL 13 1946

RECORDED

INDEXED

EX-22

100-3798-399

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/17/99 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 25 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [redacted]

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK 20 25 6-50 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

EARL R. BROWDER, ISC. AMERICAN OVERSEAS AIRLINES PLANE WITH EARL BROW-  
DER AS PASSENGER FORCED TO RETURN TO SHANNON, IRELAND, REASON UNKNOWN.  
AIRLINE OFFICIALS HERE NOW ESTIMATE ARRIVAL FIVE PM JUNE TWENTY SIXTH.  
CI [redacted] REPORTS BROWDER WIRED FROM IRELAND THAT HE WOULD BE  
DELAYED ABOUT TWELVE HOURS. SUGGEST STATE DEPARTMENT BE REQUESTED TO HAVE  
US LEGATION, EIRE KEEP US INFORMED ON DEPARTURE OF  
BROWDER FROM EIRE.

CONROY

*Lyons State  
Dept advised  
6-25-46  
6-20 PM  
AND HOLD PLS  
5 1 JUL  
NY R 20 WA*

8 1946

*Mr. Tracy might inform at 7:11 PM advised to keep in  
touch with AOA for that department should alert the  
show procedure - if a long delay then state dept  
will take action*

RECORDED  
19 JUL 3 1946  
JUN 25 1946  
JUN 25 1946  
JUN 25 1946

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

47a  
To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

Transmit the following message to:

Best Copy Available

(URGENT)

ATTACHE, PARIS

JUNE 21, 1946

1413 3  
RE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER: IS-C. BROWDER REPUTEDLY LEFT MOSCOW JUNE TWENTY LAST FOR PARIS ENROUTE TO US. CHECK IMMEDIATELY AND FOLLOW CLOSELY TIME AND DATE OF BROWDER'S DEPARTURE FROM PARIS, HIS ITINERARY AND METHOD OF TRAVEL TO US. ASCERTAIN IF AT ALL POSSIBLE BROWDER'S CONTACTS AND ACTIVITIES WHILE IN PARIS. SUBMIT INFORMATION BY QUICKEST AVAILABLE MEANS TO BUREAU SO THAT BROWDER'S ENTRANCE INTO US MAY BE COVERED.

CIPHER PAD CODE

HOOVER

cc

b7D

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/23/00 BY

RECORDED

RECEIVED  
JUL 11 1946  
L. B. N.  
FBI-AED-CV3204

52 5 37 61 41

7 JUL 11 1946

SENT VIA

EHW:TD

12:34 A M

Per

M.W.



Best Copy Available

RECORDED

40-3798-403

Date: August 2, 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

To: Mr. Jack D. Neal  
Chief  
Division of Foreign Activity Correlation  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Declassified by  
on 5/24/77

b6  
b7c

From: J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: KARL RUSSELL BROWDER

In order that you might be currently advised as to the status of the subject, the following information is submitted as reflecting on the type of material Browder had in his possession upon his return to the United States.

In addition to clothing and personal effects, such as souvenirs and gifts, the following material was in Browder's possession when he returned to the United States on June 26, 1946:

1. A 43-page speech given by Karl Browder on June 18, 1945, apparently at the National Committee meeting of the Communist Political Association held June 18, to June 20, 1945.
2. A 10-page question-and-answer discussion dated June 20, 1945.
3. A 43-page summary by William Z. Foster dated June 20, 1945.
4. A pamphlet entitled "What America Faces" by Eugene Dennis, now general secretary of the Communist Party, USA. This pamphlet was dated March, 1946.
5. A pamphlet entitled "America at the Crossroads; Post-War Problems and Communist Policy," by Eugene Dennis, with a forward by William Z. Foster.
6. A copy of the April 1946 issue of "Political Affairs," which contains an article on "The Expulsion of Browder by William Z. Foster."

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 10/1/77

EHW:AEP

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FBI  
RECORDS ROOM

7. A pamphlet entitled "Socialism — What's in it for You," by A. B. Nagil, an editor of "New Masses."
8. Browder's own book, "Teheran — Our Path in War and Peace."
9. A pamphlet entitled "The Jewish People Face the Postwar World," by Alexander Bittelman, published by Morning Freiheit Association.
10. A copy of the magazine "Time and Tide," independent known Party publication, issue of June 15, 1946, London, England.
11. The magazine "The Economist," issue of June 15, 1946, London, England.
12. The magazine "Statesmen and Nation," issue of June 15, 1946, published at London, England.
13. A magazine called "Spectator," issue of June 14, 1946, also published in London, England.
14. A copy of the newspaper "Hoy," published at Havana, Cuba, January 26, 1946, edition, which contained an article entitled "Discurso de William Z. Foster."
15. A copy of the August 31, 1945, edition of Vanguarea Socialista, published at Rio de Janeiro, Brasil.
16. A clipping from "Hoy" of June 7, 1945, giving the text of a resolution over the signature of Juan Marinello, Blas Roca, head of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, supporting the remarks of Jacques Duclos against the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and upholding the policies of the Popular Socialist Party in the light of the article by Duclos.
17. A clipping from the September 16, 1945, edition of "Hoy" of an article by Blas Roca, criticising the policies of five individuals who were expelled from the Popular Socialist Party.

(By virtue of Browder's being in possession of the above-mentioned material it would appear that this served as source material for possible discussions he may have engaged in relative to the merits of his policy in leading the Communist movement in the United States as opposed to those of the present Communist Party leadership under William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, and others.)

Browder also had in his possession a special report prepared for members of the Research Institute of America, 292 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, entitled "Communists in Labor Unions," dated April 4, 1946. It might

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

47 d

Best Copy  
Available

be noted that this particular report analyzes the Communist infiltration of various national and international labor unions, discusses means of detecting such infiltration or influence and sets out ways of combatting Communist penetration of labor unions.

The foregoing information is submitted for your consideration. It is pointed out that this information was received through a baggage and personal effects check made of Browder and it would be appreciated if the contents of this communication be regarded as confidential.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE No. 100-25693

July 1, 1946

Director, FBI

Re: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, with aliases;  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my teletype to the Bureau transmitted June 26, 1946, advising that BROWDER arrived at 6.00 P.M., Eastern Standard Time, June 26, 1946, at Marine Terminal, LaGuardia Field, New York, via American Overseas Airlines, Constellation, from London. According to press reports he departed from Moscow by Russian plane for Paris, and on early Sunday morning, June 23, 1946, he arrived aboard an American Overseas Airlines plane in London. As he had no authority to land in England, since he lacked a visa, he was held incommunicado by the British Security Police. In the early hours of the morning of June 25, 1946, he was escorted by the British Police to the American Overseas Airlines, where he was taken over to the pilot of the plane who was requested to sign for BROWDER, the press accounts intimating that he was technically in the custody of such pilot as Captain of the plane. Engine trouble developed after the plane left Shannon, Ireland, on its westward journey, and it was forced to return to that airport where further progress of the flight was delayed several hours. Because of the presence of about thirty press photographers and reporters at the Overseas Terminal, LaGuardia Field, he was taken first in the processing of passengers through the United States Public Health Service, Immigration Service, and the Customs Service.

BROWDER traveled with one large suitcase, a small handbag, and a brief case. The suitcase contained clothing and other personal effects, consisting of souvenirs or gifts, the declared value of which he stated to be \$15.00. Among these were some small glass goblets, which he claimed were heirlooms from his wife's home in Russia, some vials of perfume, a small doll, several Russian skull caps, a small sample box of Russian minerals, a twelve-inch dagger and sheath, and miscellaneous other items.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Declaration  
DATE 10/27/77

JWB:GLP  
100-25693

b6  
b7C

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-25693-241

*Wint...*  
*...*  
*...*

*let to State*  
*8-2-46*  
*...*

EX-22  
317

ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

10 X

47.e

47 f  
Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-25693

July 1, 1946  
[REDACTED]

No papers were found in the suitcase or handbag.

Arrangements had previously been made with the Customs Service for a search of such baggage, and this search proceeded without incident. Papers in BROWDER'S brief case were discreetly photographed. No papers or documents were noted dealing with BROWDER'S publicized contracts with Soviet publishing houses, and there were no letters, memorandums, or documents bearing on his contacts or negotiations in Russia.

The following described photographs are transmitted with this communication for the information of the Bureau:

(1) 96 pages of the carbon copies of the proceedings (in part) of the meeting of the National Committee, Communist Political Association, which was held in the Henry Forbes Auditorium of the Communist Party Headquarters, 35 East 12th Street, New York City, on June 18, 19, and 20, 1945, which consist of —

- a. A 43-page speech of EARL BROWDER on June 18, 1945.
- b. A 10-page question-and-answer discussion, dated June 20, 1945.
- c. A 43-page summary by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, dated June 20, 1945. (Some pages bear the date of June 21, 1945, probably in error.)

This material was never previously secured or reported upon with the detail appearing therein.

(2) A one-page letter, dated May 17, 1946, from BILL (WILLIAM E. BROWDER) to the Subject.

(3) A two-page letter, dated May 17, 1946, from RAYA (Subject's wife, RAISSA BROWDER) to the Subject.

(4) A two-page letter, dated May 18, 1946, from RAYA (MRS. EARL BROWDER) to the Subject, prefaced with birthday greetings from BROWDER'S sons, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

(5) A four-page account written by EARL BROWDER, entitled "Adventure in Finland" (typewritten).

b6  
b7C

479  
Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-25693

July 1, 1946  
[REDACTED]

- (6) Swedish ration stamps in EARL BROWDER'S possession.
- (7) A receipt showing the conversion of \$80.00, U. S. currency, into 333.60 Swedish kronor, in BROWDER'S possession.
- (8) A customs certificate in Russian showing foreign exchange brought into Russia at Viborg, May 3, 1946, from Finland by BROWDER and bearing his signature. The certificate was issued by the Customs Service of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and reflects as being then in BROWDER'S possession the amount of \$208.00 in U. S. currency, 511 Finnish marks, and checks in U. S. money to the amount of \$300.00. This item, and items 6 and 7 above, established BROWDER'S presence in Sweden, Finland, and entry into Russia.
- (9) Grand Theater Program (Bolshoi) for the performance, presumably in Moscow, June 14, 1946, of the ballet "Don Quixote", found in BROWDER'S possession and submitted for information purposes.
- (10) A list of names, undoubtedly of foreign correspondents, who may have been present at the reported interviews with BROWDER while he was staying at the Hotel Moskba.
- (11) A folder entitled "Forteckning over sovjetlitteratur", which is a list of Soviet literature published by Swedish publishers. The list may bear BROWDER'S check marks.

BROWDER also had with him the following publications and newspapers:

- (1) "Doctor Virgil Jordan's Keynote Address", delivered at the 29th Annual Meeting of the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, December 1, 1944, a reprint from the December 1944 issue of "Industry Magazine".
- (2) A special report prepared for members of the Research Institute of America, 292 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York, entitled "Communists in Labor Unions", and dated April 4, 1946. A copy of this report was submitted to the Bureau shortly after its issuance.
- (3) A pamphlet entitled "What America Faces", by EUGENE DENNIS, dated March, 1946.

47 h  
Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-25693

July 1, 1946  
[REDACTED]

6 (4) A pamphlet entitled ~~"America at the Crossroads;  
Post-War Problems and Communist Policy"~~, by EUGENE DENNIS, with a forward  
by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

7 (5) A copy of the April 1946 issue of "Political Affairs",  
which contains an article on "The Expulsion of BROWDER by WILLIAM Z.  
FOSTER". (Confidential Informant [REDACTED] whose identity is known to the  
Bureau, reported in May, 1946 that MRS. EARL BROWDER had made the state-  
ment that her husband had taken a copy of "Political Affairs" with him to  
the Soviet Union. b7D

8 (6) A pamphlet entitled, ~~"Socialism — What's in it for  
You"~~, by A. B. MAGIL, an editor of "New Masses".

9 (7) BROWDER'S own book, ~~"Teheran — Our Path in War and  
Peace"~~.

10 (8) A pamphlet entitled, ~~"The Jewish People Face the Post-  
War World"~~, by ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, published by ~~Morning Freiheit~~  
Association.

11 (9) A copy of the magazine ~~"Time and Tide"~~, independent  
known Party publication, issue of June 15, 1946, London, England.

12 (10) The magazine ~~"The Economist"~~, issue of June 15, 1946,  
London, England.

13 (11) The magazine ~~"Statesmen and Nation"~~, issue of June  
15, 1946, published at London, England.

14 (12) A magazine called ~~"Spectator"~~, issue of June 14, 1946,  
also published in London, England.

15 (13) A copy of the newspaper ~~"Hoy"~~, published at Havana,  
Cuba, January 26, 1946 edition, which contained an article entitled ~~"Discurso  
de WILLIAM Z. FOSTER"~~.

16 (14) A copy of the August 31, 1945 edition of Vanguarea  
Socialista, published at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

47  
Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-25693

July 1, 1946  
[REDACTED]

(15) A clipping from "Hoy" of June 7, 1945, giving the text of a resolution over the signature of JUAN MARINELLO, ELAS ROCA, head of the Popular Socialist Party of Cuba, supporting the remarks of JACQUES DUCLOS against the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and upholding the policies of the Popular Socialist Party in the light of the article by DUCLOS.

(16) A clipping from the September 16, 1945 edition of "Hoy" of an article by ELAS ROCA, criticizing the policies of five individuals who were expelled from the Popular Socialist Party.

In response to a question from a Customs officer as to whether he had a good trip abroad, BROWDER smiled and said, "Beautiful". He appeared tired and was anxious to depart from the Terminal. However, a battery of photographers accosted him upon leaving the Customs Office and he was subjected to considerable irritation as a result of the demands of the press representatives, photographers, and sound picture men. He succeeded in getting away from these people without answering too many questions, and was met at the door of the Airlines Terminal by his brother, WILLIAM E. BROWDER, who escorted him to the automobile of HYMAN GOLDBERG, in which GOLDBERG was seated at the wheel with MRS. EARL BROWDER alongside him, with the son of BROWDER, possibly FELIX E. BROWDER, who graduated as a Mathematical Physicist on June 6, 1946, seated in the back seat. The Subject took a seat in the rear of the automobile and before the car could be parked the photographers demanded further pictures, opened the doors of the car and took flash bulb shots. BROWDER smiled somewhat at these proceedings but the other passengers of the car covered their faces.

(photograph)  
WILLIAM E. BROWDER, his wife ROSE EULER, and WILLIAM BERKE, a former employee of the Communist Party, who was discharged in February, 1946 for having supplied the BROWDERS with copies of the Daily Worker's mailing list, had driven to the airport in a 1937 Ford sedan, green in color, and bearing New York license number 4Y77-05. It was ascertained that this automobile is registered in the name of ROSE EULER, 38 West 9th Street, New York City.

While BROWDER was leaving the Airlines Terminal a small crowd gathered, attracted by the attention being given to him, but when his identity was learned, followed him out of the building, booing and hissing. Some shouted "Kill the Bum", "Send the Bum back to Russia", etc. One man



47j  
Letter to Director, FBI  
NY 100-25693

July 1, 1946  
[REDACTED]

was heard to remark, "They are trying to make a celebrity out of that Bum".

During the commotion occasioned by the efforts of the photographers to secure pictures of the Subject, an opportunity was afforded FBI Photographer KENNETH N. DELANOY to secure several shots of BROWDER, of HYMAN GOLDBERG and BROWDER'S son, and WILLIAM E. BROWDER escorting the Subject to the GOLDBERG automobile. Five of these photographs are also being submitted to the Bureau with this letter.

ABRAHAM A. HELLER did not return with BROWDER from Russia. Confidential Informant [REDACTED] reported on June 27, 1946, that ESTHER GOLDBERG, in a conversation with MRS. BROWDER, stated that HELLER'S daughter had called her. MRS. BROWDER then said that HELLER was feeling well; that he was in France, and would leave in two or three weeks. She also indicated that apparently HELLER was to be decorated on June 28, 1946, but the Informant could supply no details in this respect. Later that same day MRS. BROWDER and MRS. GOLDBERG conferred, at which time MRS. BROWDER stated that she was bringing some gifts with her over to the GOLDBERGS on Sunday, June 30, 1946; that WALDO and GRACE (MR. and MRS. RALPH WALDO BROWDER), and ROSE and BILL (MR. and MRS. WILLIAM E. BROWDER), would be with her as well as others. It was Informant's opinion that possibly a party was being planned in celebration of Subject's homecoming.

b7D

A lengthy report, bringing the EARL R. BROWDER case activities to June 26, 1946, has been dictated, and will be transcribed and submitted to the Bureau about July 10, 1946.

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*  
E. E. CONROY  
Special Agent in Charge

18 Enclosures

cc NY 100-321

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 25 1946

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK 3 25 2-14 P  
DIRECTOR URGENT

EARL R. BROWDER, IS-C. PURSUANT INFO FURNISHED BY BUREAU IN LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE CALL TO THIS OFFICE ON JUNE TWENTYFOURTH SURVEILLANCE WAS MAINTAINED BY AGENTS OF THIS OFFICE OF ARRIVALS ON PLANES FROM EUROPE AT LAGUARDIA AIRPORT NIGHT OF JUNE TWENTYFOUR DASH TWENTYFIVE BUT EARL BROWDER WAS NOT OBSERVED AMONG ARRIVALS NOR HAS NAME APPEARED ON ANY PASSENGER LISTS RECD BY AIRLINES FROM EUROPE TO DATE. ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH, LONDON, JUNE TWENTYFOUR, CARRIED LOCAL PRESS SHOWS BROWDER DETAINED MEATHROW AIRPORT ON ARRIVAL FROM PARIS BY BRITISH CIVILIAN SECURITY POLICE PENDING HIS DEPARTURE BY AMERICAN OVERSEAS AIRLINES PLANE ON JUNE TWENTYFIFTH. THIS AIRLINE HAS PLANE DUE LAGUARDIA FROM LONDON JUNE TWENTYFIFTH WITH ARRIVAL NOW ESTIMATED AT EIGHT TO NINE PM, EST, WHICH ARRIVAL WILL BE COVERED BY AGENTS. BROWDER WIRED WIFE HE WILL ARRIVE LAGUARDIA BETWEEN NINE AND TEN PM, JUNE TWENTYFIVE. SURVEILLANCE WILL BE MAINTAINED FOR THIS ARRIVAL

RECORDED

EX - 30

JUL 2 1946

REPORTS b7D

JUL 11 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY

cc: Mr. Ladd

b6  
b7C

C  
A53

1040  
ILLUSTRATIVE

*Def*  
*V. 99*  
*Wint*  
*John*

WASH FROM NEW YORK 16 26 10-37 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, IS-C. SUBJECT ARRIVED LAGUARDIA AIRPORT BY AMERICAN OVERSEAS ~~SEA~~ AIRLINES PLANE FROM LONDON VIA SHANNON AT SIX PM EST JUNE TWENTY SIX. ALL PAPERS IN HIS BAGGAGE WERE DISCREETLY PHOTOGRAPHED WITH CUSTOMS COOPERATION BY REPRESENTATIVES THIS OFFICE. LARGE PRESS REPRESENTATION ON HAND TO PHOTOGRAPH AND ~~AND~~ INTERVIEW BROWDER. UNFRIENDLY DEMONSTRATION STAGED BY MANY PERSONS PRESENT IN TERMINAL BUILDING. MET BY MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY. A. A. ~~W~~UELLER NOT ON ~~ON~~ PLANE. MATERIAL REFERRING TO ALLEGED BOOK BUSINESS NOT FOUND IN BAGGAGE. PAPERS DID INCLUDE MATERIAL WHICH APPARENTLY RELATES TO BROWDER-S CONTROVERSY WITH PARTY. OVER HUNDRED ~~AND~~ PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN. BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED PROMPTLY OF CONTENTS. BAGGAGE OTHERWISE CONTAINED ~~AND~~ GIFTS TO DECLARED VALUE FIFTEEN DOLLARS.

CONROY

END

NYO 6/16/46 WASH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [redacted]

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED  
331

EX-54

40-3772-407

b6  
b7C

154

57 WU

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 15 1946

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Egan	_____
Mr. Gurnea	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Pennington	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASH FROM NEW YORK 29 28 11-36 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, IS C. REFER MY PREVIOUS TELETYPE TODAY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ INFORMANT [REDACTED] ADVISED LATE TODAY THAT PURSUANT TO TELEPHONE CALL FROM WILLIAM BROWDER, SHE MET LATTER FOR FEW MINUTES AT WHICH TIME HE INFORMED HER HIS BROTHER, EARL, WANTED TO SEE INFORMANT AND JOHN H. REYNOLDS AT APT. OF WILLIAM BROWDER IN NYC, AT NINE P. M.

b7D

JUNE THIRTY NEXT. WILLIAM BROWDER INDICATED CONFERENCE WOULD BE CONCERNED MAINLY WITH WHAT EARL WAS ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH IN MOSCOW RELATIVE TO FUTURE OF US SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORP. DETAILS OF MEETING WILL BE SECURED MONDAY IF POSSIBLE TO SEE INFORMANT THAT DAY. WILLIAM BROWDER ALSO MENTIONED THAT EARL PROBABLY WOULD NOT RESUME PUBLICATION OF DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE BUT THAT HE INTENDED TO SPEND MOST OF HIS TIME IN THE OFFICE WORKING THREE OR FOUR HOURS PER DAY ON WHAT HE TERMS HIS POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

CONORY

END

END

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [REDACTED]

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

351  
EX-69

1 JUL 2 1946

b6  
b7C

NY R 29 WA  
59 JUL 15 1946

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT: **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. 100-25693 eg

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK Classified by [redacted] Declassify on: OADR 100-4956-13	DATE WHEN MADE FEB 1946	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1/11, 14-16; 2/19; 3/6, 11; 4/8-10, 18-26, 29; 5/1, 8, 14; 6/14, 20; 21, 24, 25/46.	REPORT MADE BY JEROME W. BROWER CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - C
TITLE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, with aliases			

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

BROWDER, condemned for "revisionist" policies and "Browderism" (the theory of the progressive nature of American monopoly), was deposed as CP leader when Party was reconstituted July 1945 with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER his successor. In testimony before House Un-American Activities Committee, 9/26,27/45, he evaded questions generally, disavowing membership in new CP. BROWDER, with HYMAN GOLDBERG, Hackensack, NJ tobacco merchant and one-time Communist, as president, and his brother, WILLIAM E. BROWDER, secretary-treasurer, organized Distributors Guide, Inc., 55 W. 42nd Street, NYC, 11/5/45; Articles authorized doing business as "news agents, journalists, news analysts", and making "surveys of markets of every kind and description throughout world". First issue of weekly mimeographed "Distributors Guide" (\$100 year subscription) and "Analysis of Economic Conditions", edited by subject, appeared regularly 1/5-4/26/46 and suspended temporarily while subject in Soviet Union studying "European economic conditions". In view of BROWDER's continued "opposition to the trend toward development of independent political action on the part of working class and its allies", National Council, CP, following recommendation of 1/46 Party conventions and acting on National Board proposal 2/7/46, expelled BROWDER from Party 2/13/46 for "betraying principles of Marxism ... and deserting to the side of the class enemy." While these proceedings were pending, World

CLASS. & EXT. BY \_\_\_\_\_  
REASON - FCIM, II \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE OF REVIEW \_\_\_\_\_

APPROVED AND  
FORWARDED:

**SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE**

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

COPIES OF THIS REPORT

**5 - Bureau**

4 - New York

**COPIES DESTROYED**

842 OCT 5 1970

**Classified by**

Declassify on: OADR

Ampl # 83-6357

100-4456-42

Telegram 2/8/46 revealed subject was attempting to visit Soviet Union and seeking "to become an official trade representative of the Soviet Union." He departed via air 4/26/46, arriving Moscow 5/6/46 with consensus of press being that Stalin "sees opportunity of getting an intimate report on the temper of the American people" on his policies as " 'Browderism' was Stalin's policy toward Roosevelt administration." BROWDER on eve of departure reportedly said his objective in Russian visit was to sell top-ranking Soviet officials on idea of changing CP line to his policies followed in World War II and that if successful he could not expect open support from Russian leaders but would be left to his own ingenuity in supplanting present personnel and policies which might take two years. Reputedly wealthy ABRAHAM A. HELIER, until recently President of International Publishers, Treasurer of Jefferson School of Social Science, and reportedly CP "angel" and staunch BROWDER supporter, who broke with CP 3/46 and presently is a vice president of Distributors Guide, Inc., and believed aiding it financially, flew to Moscow 6/7/46 to be with BROWDER, which NY Times 6/20/46 confirmed stating the two were at the Hotel Moskva. Times article also stated that BROWDER, who had interviews with Foreign Minister MOLOTOV, reasserted he was "out of politics" and advised that he had signed three contracts with Tagiz, a State publishing house, and two of its affiliates, the Trade Union Publishing House and the Art Publishing House", and while he would not have a monopoly he would be the main "channel of communication" which would "give him opportunity to facilitate 'cultural exchanges' between U.S. and S.U." WILLIAM BROWDER has stated that HELIER will handle the finances for this book and distributing concern, which project will allegedly cut into business of Sovfoto but apparently would not compete with Four Continent Book Corp. BROWDER returned via air to NY 6/26/46 after being held incommunicado in London for two days by British Security Police as he lacked proper visa.

- P -

REFERENCE:

Bureau file 40-3798  
Report of Special Agent J. Lewis Ames, New York, 8/18/45.

SECRET

TABLE OF CONTENTS

**SECRET** Page

<b>I EVENTS AND PROCEEDINGS FOLLOWING RECONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY, JULY 1945 LEADING TO BROWDER'S EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY .....</b>		<b>3</b>
1. BROWDER As Deposed Leader of American Communist Movement .....		3
2. Expulsion Proceedings Initiated .....		9
3. Expulsion of BROWDER from Communist Party .....		26
4. Appraisal of Party Under FOSTER's Leadership ...		37
 <b>II BROWDER'S VENTURE INTO BUSINESS -- THE DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE .....</b>		<b>39</b>
1. Formation and Purposes .....		39
2. Economic Analyses, Distributors Guide .....		41
3. Officers and Associated Personnel .....		42
4. Financial Support for Distributors Guide .....		47
 <b>III JOURNEY TO MOSCOW, April 26, 1946 .....</b>		<b>48</b>
1. Plans for Visit to U.S.S.R. ....		48
2. Departure Via American Overseas Airlines .....		50
3. Arrival in Moscow, May 6, 1946 .....		55
4. BROWDER a Representative for Three Soviet Publishing Houses in the United States .....		59
 <b>IV RELATED INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES .....</b>		<b>63</b>
1. Link of Subject with Early Russian Espionage Activities .....		63
2. A Dialogue on Marxian Theory .....		65
 <b>V PRESENT PLANS OF SUBJECT .....</b>		<b>67</b>

40-3798-409 (09)

**SECRET**

47 m  
NY 100-25693

~~SECRET~~

DETAILS:

I EVENTS AND PROCEEDINGS FOLLOWING RECONSTITUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY,  
JULY 1945 LEADING TO BROWDER'S EXPULSION FROM THE PARTY

1. BROWDER as Deposed Leader of American Communist Movement

The report of reference shows that following the reconstitution of the Communist Party, USA by the special National Convention of the Communist Political Association held in New York City, July 26-28, 1945, with 93 delegates in attendance, and the election by the 55 member National Committee of WILLIAM Z. FOSTER to be National Chairman of the re-established Party and chairman of its National Board of 11 members aided by a Secretariat of three, EARL BROWDER, vacationing in Monroe, New York in July and August 1945, was removed from active leadership of the Communist movement in the United States and was warned that his expulsion would be the inevitable consequence of his failure to accept the more revolutionary policies advocated by his successor.

*Nothing in National Archives*

The controversy between FOSTER and BROWDER which resulted from this change of policy did not go wholly unnoticed in the Russian press. The New York Times of August 3, 1945 in a news account stated that a report "running about one column describing the recent national congress of the Communist Party in New York appears in Pravda (the official Communist Party publication in Russia) today. The story details the dispute between WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and EARL BROWDER concerning the Party's reorganization last year into the Communist Political Association which describes itself as a non-party organization based on the working class ... The story adds that although the Party will support the democratic achievements of the United States and its constitution, its final goal is the 'socialist reorganization of society' ..."

According to Confidential Informant [redacted] (C) 4 whose identity is known to the Bureau, ISRAEL AMTER, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, stated on September 11, 1945 that the Communist Political Association had received on July 19, 1945 instructions signed by the French Communist leaders THOREZ and LUCLOS, to the effect that the international Communist movement was very anxious to see that the restoration of the party as an independent political party was accomplished in the United States. AMTER stated that these instructions constituted the answer on the report of the National Committee of the CPA to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *Daguer*

b7D

AMTER declared that the functionaries did not have to resort to these instructions at the National Convention for the majority of the delegates before the liquidation of the association and the re-establishment of the Communist Party. Informant related that AMTER was asked at this point why the answer did not come directly from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. AMTER explained because the Communist Party of the Soviet

~~SECRET~~



SECRET

Union merely considered itself a part of the international Communist movement and because of the international political situations, the Soviet leadership reasoned that it would be dangerous if it were uncovered that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is giving counsel and direction to the Communist parties of the different nations.

AMTER reported that the organization had enlarged the International Communist Committee which directs and guides the Communist International because the leaders of this International do not represent Communist parties of different countries. AMTER described the functioning of this committee, which will not be considered further here, but in conclusion he stated that the committee when it had reached definite decisions on the questions referred to it, issued directives directly to the Communist Party.

With reference to the question of "Browderism" within the United States in the Communist movement, AMTER said, according to informant, "BROWDER possibly purposely misunderstood the directives to the Communist Party, USA. It has become known now that BROWDER was told to take the Communist Party into a broad, united front of national unity for the purpose of aiding in the war efforts against the Axis powers. What BROWDER did was the liquidation of the Communist Party in the United States. This had a big influence on many other Communist Parties in the American countries. They followed our example. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international Communist leadership did not approve of this and BROWDER knew it but he did not do a thing to remedy the situation until DUCLOS was instructed to force the issue into the open. This is the reason why BROWDER was deposed from leadership..."

The reference report sets out the August 3, 1945 letter of the National Board directed to BROWDER in which the latter was informed that the Board expected a direct answer from him as to whether he would accept fully the decisions of the National Convention.

On September 19, 1945, Confidential Informant [T] stated that JOHN WILLIAMSON told ROBERT THOMPSON, both being members of the National Secretariat, that BROWDER would be in the office that day and that THOMPSON and National Board member JACK STACHEL should be present. WILLIAMSON emphasized the importance of the meeting because BROWDER had not answered their last letter. (It is believed this has reference to the August 3, 1945 communication). WILLIAMSON also stated that they wished to discuss the forthcoming appearance of Communist Party members before the Wood-Rankin Committee on Un-American Activities.

The New York Post of September 19, 1945 reported briefly on the revival by the Communists of the class struggle which was staged at a

~~SECRET~~

Madison Square Garden rally on the evening of September 18, 1945. The item noted that before the 18,000 people present "speaker after speaker officially castigated the 'revisionism' of EARL BROWDER, former Party leader, and announced their return to pure Marxism."

Incidentally, it has been noted that ALBERT MALTZ, an artist and author writing in the Worker of April 7, 1946, under the caption "Moving Forward", which was an apology for an article appearing in the February 1946 issue of New Masses in which he asserted that there was no necessary connection between a writer's thinking and his literary work, for which he had been severely criticized in subsequent issues of the Daily Worker by SIMON SILEN, attempted to describe "revisionism" as "distorted Marxism, turning half truths into total untruths, splitting ideology from its class base, denying the existence of class struggles in society, converting Marxism from a science of society and struggle into apologetics for monopoly exploitation."

Also in this same connection, the Daily Worker of April 22, 1946 in an unsigned article dealing with a "Dialogue on Marxian Theory", which dialogue according to Confidential Informant (T2) was prepared by BROWDER and which will be mentioned later in this report, described "Browderism" as "the theory of the 'progressive' nature of American monopoly".

BROWDER on September 26, 1945 testified before the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. The World Telegram in its September 26, 1945 issue surmised that the purpose in calling him was "to give him an opportunity to explain on what grounds his leadership was repudiated by American Communists. The implications of the public discussion in the Communist press prior to the Party vote, but did not oust BROWDER were that American Communists were to their class war."

[REDACTED] 1945 in briefly reporting the proceedings, stated that BROWDER disavowed membership in the newly formed Communist Party and declined to answer questions designed to elicit from him a statement that he agreed with the principles set forth in the DUCLOS articles. He stated if he did answer it would only "create further confusion". When the committee counsel, ERNIE ADAMSON, persisted in his questioning along this line, BROWDER replied that "I am unable to summon the tremendous energy that would be required for such an effort as that." He stated that he agreed with the sentence read to him from the Communist publication that the U.S.S.R. was "the greatest, most powerful and most dependable champion of freedom of all the United Nations."

~~SECRET~~

**SECRET**

The Daily Worker of September 28, 1945 in an account by ADAM LAPIW also commented rather extensively on the "witch hunt of the so-called House Committee on Un-American Activities." LAPIW wrote, "BROWDER dismissed as fantastic a World Telegram story by FREDERICK WOLTMAN alleging that he had charged Soviet domination of the Communist movement in this country. 'Was it your objective to cooperate with capitalist governments?', ADAMSON asked. 'It was the purpose of the Communist Political Association when I was its spokesman to cooperate with the government to win the war, establish a durable peace and maximum well-being for the American people.' BROWDER, who appeared as a witness on two days, September 26 and 27, 1945, was asked as set out in the New York Times account of the hearing on September 27th, whether the "reorganized Communist Party had any contact with foreign international organizations, such as the pre-war Communist International. He replied that not being an officer he could give no answer. Chairman WOOD praised him nevertheless. Finally Mr. BROWDER said that he did not know."

In this respect the New York Times of October 13, 1945 quoted LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former managing editor of the Daily Worker who renounced Communism and joined the faculty of Notre Dame University, as saying "EARL BROWDER and others get orders from somewhere -- but I don't know where." It is to be noted that BUDENZ informed the committee that he was unimportant.

As to BROWDER's position in the Communist Party movement as of October 9, 1945, Confidential Informant T1 reported that BETTY GANNETT of the National Headquarters of the Party, and National Board member ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN conferred on that date at which time FLYNN disclosed that "There's an awful lot of curiosity everywhere about E.B.", with which GANNETT agreed, stating that she was getting all sorts of letters and yet there was just nothing that could be done for him, then noted there were very conflicting impressions, some very good and some otherwise, and she felt that the Party had to do something about it. She said many people had inquired as to BROWDER's exact status and that the people did not realize that "we don't know either". The two women were in agreement that much of the confusion was caused by the distortion of facts in the daily press.

On November 5, 1945 BROWDER, together with HYMAN GOLDBERG as president and WILLIAM E. BROWDER, subject's brother, as secretary-treasurer, organized Distributors Guide, Inc. with offices in room 702-3, 55 W. 42nd Street, New York City. Such a step taken by BROWDER was known to the Party and is revealed in a conference had on September 17, 1945 as reported by Confidential Informant T3, between ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, present manager of International Publishers and Communist Party functionary, and

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~  
A. B. MAGIL of New Masses. At this time it was mentioned that BROWDER contemplated entering private business but the exact nature of such a venture was not known apparently to these parties. Fuller treatment of the Distributors Guide will be found in Section II of this report.

Confidential Informant [T4] in a report prepared on November 19, 1945 stated that BROWDER was to be called before the National Convention of the Party in the near future and given an opportunity publicly to repudiate his opportunist past activities or be expelled from the Communist Party. The session of the National Committee, informant learned, would be attended by a number of invited Communist leaders. In informant's opinion this action was being taken purely for publicity purposes. From every move made by BROWDER in the past was made by direct order from Moscow. Informant observed that when the Communist leaders in Russia decided there should be a change of policy in the American Party it was necessary to have a scapegoat and BROWDER was selected for that part. It would have been rather embarrassing, informant emphasized, for the international Communist movement to have made this change of policy and to have appointed FOSTER as the national chairman without the apparent elimination of BROWDER.

On November 19, 1945 PETER SACCHIONE, the New York City Communist Councilman, and WILLIAM NORMAN, organizational secretary for the New York State Committee, discussed a session of the National Committee at which the BROWDER case is continued. SACCHIONE inquired as to what action if any had been taken in the BROWDER matter. NORMAN replied that the case was left with the thought expressed in GENE's (EUGENE DENNIS, member of the Secretariat) report that BROWDER had not conducted himself as a good comrade with the result that it was left to the National Board to take any action that in their judgment should be subsequently required.

On November 27, 1945 Confidential Informant [T2] whose identity is known to the Bureau, reported that BROWDER was under investigation by a special board of the National Committee and that a primary basis for the inquiry was centered around allegations that he was organizing an opposing faction within the Communist Party. It was learned at this time through Confidential Informant [T2] that BROWDER was reported to have said that he had absolutely no connection with any Communists at the time and had indicated that he had a bitter feeling toward the present functionaries of the Party. He was alarmed over the way they were spending money very freely and were apparently dissipating the backlog of funds that had been built up during his ten years as an active functionary in the movement. BROWDER viewed FOSTER only as the nominal head of the organization because he felt the condition of FOSTER's health would make it impossible for him to serve otherwise. He regarded EUGENE DENNIS as the actual functioning head of the Party.

b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The Herald Tribune of December 25, 1945 carried a lengthy letter written by BROWDER under date of December 19, 1945 which indicated BROWDER's continued interest in Communism on an international scale. He requested permission of the editors to answer a charge contained in an article on China by RODNEY GILBERT which appeared in the December 19, 1945 issue of the Herald Tribune and which conveyed the idea that in the publication of MAO TSE-TUNG's booklet "China's New Democracy" for which BROWDER himself wrote an introduction that "I took part in a conspiracy to misinform and mislead the American public as to the true nature of the Chinese Communists by the deletion of certain portions of the original text." He concluded his answer by asserting "If there is one thing patently false it is GILBERT's statement: 'The Chinese Reds want all or nothing'."

Confidential Informant [redacted] on December 27, 1945 advised that he had learned that BROWDER had been offered by the Party a position which would involve his performing literary research work for the Party but that BROWDER had refused to accept such offer, which decision on his part only further strained the relations existing between him and the Party stalwarts who had felt that if BROWDER had engaged in such work they would have been in a better position to direct and control his activities. This informant as well as Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity the Bureau likewise knows, at this time were of the opinion that the situation was not then ripe for the Party to dismiss BROWDER completely from its ranks. They felt that it was apparent on the surface, however, that FOSTER, DENNIS and other individuals high in the inner circles of the Party intended never to let BROWDER again gain the leadership of the movement. (S) u

b7D

The January 13, 1946 issue of the Worker contained an article on "Leninism and Keynes-Ian", written by FOSTER in observance of the 22nd anniversary of the death of LENIN (January 21, 1924). FOSTER wrote, "BROWDER believes that the monopolists will voluntarily lead in making basic economic and political reforms of the capitalist society, including big improvements in mass living standards and in extending our democracy. The fundamental difference between the Keynesians and the classical social democratic revisionists of the Bernstein-Kautsky type is that the Keynesians who are all frankly anti-socialists believe that by a little patching up the capitalist system can be made into a going concern with an indefinite utopian prospective of capitalist development."

"Whereas the Bernsteins and Kautskys believe that the whole economic and political process of the capitalist system was ordinarily evolved into socialism making a revolution quite unnecessary. Social democrat revisionists of today have pretty much adopted Keynes' ideas, except that they still hang on to socialist phrases. BROWDER's affiliation

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

"to Keynes' program of anti-socialism explanation is contempt for the 'old books and formulas' of Marxism-Leninism. He proposed not only to revise these writings but with his abandonment of the socialist perspective, to throw them away altogether and the Communist Party with them. BROWDER'S book on Teheran is purely an essay in Keynesian capitalist utopianism fitted to the needs of American imperialism... BROWDER, in the true spirit of the Keynesians, tried his utmost to mislead us into abandoning MARX and LENIN as false leaders..." (JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES, English financier, who died in February 1946, whose philosophy according to FOSTER, was an attempt to "give a new lease on life to the capitalist system by tinkering up the basic economic process of that system).

The article by FOSTER from which excerpts were quoted above was one of the first to appear directly challenging the position of BROWDER as a prelude to his complete discreditment. Others made their appearance at about this time and in various ways and with various charges. One will suffice for present purposes to indicate this trend. The Daily Worker of January 18, 1946 contained a letter to the editor of the Daily Worker written by GLENN JEFFRIES of Marion, Ohio, in which the writer charges that "incentive pay in industry was one of the revisionist policies of the Communist movement during BROWDER's leadership."

CP 1 It was learned at about this time, according to Confidential Informant T6, that there were investigative committees in the United States, France and the Soviet Union at work studying the activities of BROWDER during his term as head of the Communist Party in the United States. FILIBERTO BARRERO (HERNANDEZ), Communist Party leader and secretary of finances of the Confederation of Workers of Colombia, who according to informant, had attended the International Labor Congress in Paris, elaborated on this information stating that these committees planned to meet in Paris at the conclusion of the inquiries for the purpose of coordinating and publishing their findings in order that concrete action appropriate to such findings could be instituted.

## 2. Expulsion Proceedings Initiated

As if ushering in the next stage in the complete removal of BROWDER from the Party, was the expulsion proceedings of CHARLES KEITH, a former member of the Seamen's Branch of the Party, in which the attitude of the State Secretariat as reported in the Daily Worker of January 19, 1946 was made known with respect to future action of a disciplinary nature. The announcement of the Secretariat stated "The entire Party must learn a serious lesson from this case, namely, that factionalism and disruption lead inevitably into the camp of our class enemy. The Party must begin to tighten up and eliminate any liberal approach to a check-up on work and

SECRET

**SECRET**

"activity which was manifested during the revisionist period of our Party."

Proceedings seeking the expulsion of BROWDER were initiated locally through the machinery of county conventions of the Communist Party. Confidential Informant [redacted] previously mentioned, advised that the Bronx County convention of the Communist Party was held on January 25-27, 1946. WILLIAM NORMAN introduced a resolution urging the National Convention to expel BROWDER, which was adopted by a vote of 164 members for expulsion with one opposing such action and ten abstaining from voting.

b7D

On the same dates the Manhattan section of the Communist Party convened and the BROWDER case was considered. Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, stated that at this meeting which was attended by CHARLES CRUMBEIN, ROSE WORTIS and ROBERT THOMPSON among others, an argument developed as to the basis to be used for expelling BROWDER. The argument was advanced that BROWDER should be dismissed with dignity to both himself and members of the Party. It was finally agreed that the best reason which could be put forth for divorcing BROWDER from the movement would be that he had engaged in trade. This is an obvious reference to the organization of Distributors Guide which BROWDER had created and whose purpose, it was reported in the New York press, was to advise businessmen where "scarce merchandise may be procured" (New York Times, January 16, 1946).

b7D

The Kings County branch of the Communist Party at its convention which was held January 18-20, 1946 took similar action. All these resolutions took the form of urging the National Committee to expel BROWDER.

On February 1, 1946, as Confidential Informant [redacted] T5 learned, an executive committee meeting of the Yonkers CP Club, of which EARL BROWDER is a member, was held. According to informant, BROWDER attended and read a lengthy document addressed "To the Yonkers Club and All Members of the Communist Party". Following its reading he was subjected to questioning for a period of one and a half hours and then left the meeting. The executive committee as HERBERT WHEELER, a functionary of the Westchester County Communist Party, is reported to have informed WILLIAM NORMAN, according to informant, voted unanimously to ask the expulsion of BROWDER from the Party. Confidential Informant [redacted] T2 made available a copy of the document in question which bears the date February 1, 1946. It reads as follows:

"To the Yonkers Club and all members of the Communist Party:

You have called me to discuss my relations with the Club, obviously as the result of the public campaign now going on to secure my expulsion from Party membership.

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

" I am informed that a membership meeting of Westchester County, held on January 29 at Mt. Vernon, for the purpose to mobilize support to the strikes now going on, the order of business was interrupted to introduce a resolution by Comrade Hagstrom calling for my expulsion. The reasons given, I am informed, were that I had advanced Keynesian ideas, that I have maintained them stubbornly, that I have been politically passive and failed to attend Club meetings. I understand that the motion was rejected by a vote of 64 to 52, but that later on the question was re-opened in order to refer the matter to the Yonkers Club.

This is my first opportunity to answer such charges before the Party membership.

First, as to the charge of political passivity.

It is true that I have conducted no active political work of any kind since the Party convention last July. The reason is that, having been summarily removed from all positions of responsibility, I have received no invitation to participate in any form of political activity from the Party leadership. In the absence of any Party directive or suggestion, I hesitated to take any personal initiative in the matter, knowing that any such move by me would bring charges of factionalism. I wanted the results of the Convention to unfold before the Party without any controversy arising around my own personal involvement.

It is further true that I heard of a proposal by a member of the National Board that I should be given a job scrubbing floors in the National Office. If there had been any evidence that there existed a real need for my services in this capacity, I would gladly have given them. However, since the proposal was rather one of granting pension to a needy but worthless former employee, I did not see fit to take this suggestion seriously.

You must pardon me if I also speak briefly of a difficult personal problem that had to be solved before I could resume systematic political activity. I mention it not in order to complain, but only to answer irresponsible slanders being spread against me. After fifteen years as Party spokesman, I was faced with the necessity, rather suddenly and unexpectedly, to find private employment in order to support my family. But all normal private employment is closed to me by the newspaper notoriety which attaches to my person, and which I find it impossible to escape. Since the July Convention, furthermore, all normal employment in the labor movement is rendered impossible for me, because the Party leadership keeps my name before the world as a synonym for everything undesirable. It required some time for me to find my way through these barbed-wire entanglements, and to secure employment which was compatible with the maintenance of personal

~~SECRET~~



X 2

\*integrity. I am now employed in writing economic analyses for a very limited list of subscribers, all of whom are persons who support the same Roosevelt program to which our Party is committed by its Convention Resolution. I mention this matter only because it has been made the basis of the most vile and slandering gossip campaign against me.

Second, my non-attendance at Club meetings.

In September I formally requested my membership transfer to the Yonkers Club. For reasons unknown to me, this transfer was delayed until December, when I received my registration and a new 1946 membership card from the Yonkers Club. I had previously suggested to Comrade Bob Thompson, in the presence of the National Secretariat, that for some few months at least my attendance in the Club might become a disturbing factor in its work rather than a help, and that I should be excused from attendance until a decision should be arrived at that this condition had ended. Thompson expressed his agreement, and the other members of the Secretariat did not express any disagreement. I was later informed by members of the Yonkers Club Executive that this proposal had been agreed upon. X

In view of these facts, it is beyond my comprehension how my non-attendance at Club meetings during December and January can be the basis of a challenge to my Party membership and a motion for my expulsion. Quite aside from the special circumstances of my position, if the Party followed the practice of expelling those who absent themselves from Club meetings for two months, there would be an exceptional crisis in Party membership.

Third, the charge that I have advanced Keynesian ideas and maintained them stubbornly.

This charge is entirely false.

The first time I ever heard or saw my name connected with that of Keynes was in the article by Comrade Foster in The Worker of January 20, less than two weeks ago. Evidently it is a new discovery, and would merit much more careful examination than there has been time for, before it could properly be made the basis of charges for expulsion, even if it could be established that in my past writings there could be found some points of similarity or agreement with Keynes. It is a well-known fact that even Lenin found many points of agreement with bourgeois writers on imperialism, particularly Hobson, and even with flagrant apologists for imperialism when they were dealing with the establishment of objective facts and not of basic theory. I am myself still not sufficiently acquainted with Keynes' writings to pass upon the question definitively as to the nature of the supposed agreement between myself and Keynes (in connection with my past writings), but no charges affecting my membership in the Party can properly

X 3

**SECRET**

"be based upon anything except what I have written or said before the Party and the public since the July Convention.

I must emphatically dispute the charge that I have advanced and stubbornly maintained any ideas whatsoever, either Keynesian or otherwise, since the last Party Convention, except the decisions of that Convention.

Fourth, it is a fact thoroughly established in the record that I accepted the decisions of the Party Convention, not only technically but politically, and that I have not spoken or acted in any way contrary to those decisions.

I was present at the last Party Convention and sat through all its political discussions and decisions, though as a guest, not a delegate. By courtesy of the Convention I was permitted to speak for about one hour. That speech was the last time I have put any developed ideas before the Party and defended them, whether stubbornly or otherwise. The contents of this speech are, of course, unknown to you or to anyone except those present in the Convention, because it was never given to the membership in any form.

Up until the moment when the Party Convention adopted its political resolution, I was defending policies which had been adopted unanimously in previous Party Conventions, and I was defending the whole record of the Party, which I consider an admirable record—especially for the year 1944 and the closing phase of the war, quite regardless of any incidental errors. That was not only my right as a Party member, it was my inescapable duty as a Party leader.

When the Convention adopted its political Resolution, I declared to the Convention my unconditional subordination to its decisions. Furthermore, I addressed a letter to the Presiding Committee of this Convention, establishing in the record my belief that the Convention Resolution did not contain any of those ideas which I had condemned as revisionism (in my article in the discussion and in my speech to the Convention), and that on the contrary it represented a rallying of the Marxist core of the Party, and that I accepted it as the Party line.

I have never departed from that position. I have never appealed against the Convention decisions or opposed them in any way. I have accepted my own personal position as a rank-and-file Party member, and will be fully satisfied to remain in that status. I consider the issues of the Convention closed with its adjournment, except insofar as they have a scientific, international, theoretical character which makes them subject to continuous investigation and discussion throughout the whole world.

IN CONCLUSION, therefore, on the question of the demand for my expulsion from membership in the Party, I submit that it is proved:

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

"(a) that any political ideas I have publicly advanced and stubbornly maintained were, when so advanced and maintained, the unanimously adopted views of the Party as a whole. No challenge to my Party membership can be based upon them; (b) since the Convention that made such drastic changes in the Party, I have not advanced any ideas of my own before the Party at all, and therefore no charges can be maintained upon the basis of what someone may imagine are my views; (c) the condition of political inactivity and non-attendance at Club meetings, which it is sought to make a basis for expulsion, was imposed upon me by factors outside of my control, and in part (Club attendance) by agreement with local and national Party leadership, and therefore not a valid ground for expulsion — even if such charges could be valid in cases where the condition of inactivity was voluntary, which has not been an established custom and tradition in our Party.

THEREFORE, I ask the membership of the Yonkers Club to reject the charges brought against me, and to confirm my membership in the Communist Party.

\*\*\*\*\*

The conditions which caused me to be politically inactive since last July, are rapidly ceasing to be operative. I expect in the future to resume political activity, to the extent that I am permitted, both within the Party and publicly. Especially I hope to be able to make a contribution to victory for the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition in the 1946 Congressional Elections, according to the demands of our July Convention. These 1946 elections promise to be as crucial for the post-war period as was the 1944 Presidential Election for victory in the war.

There is arising a grave danger, however, in relation to the coming elections.

Since this matter is of so much greater importance than the issue of my own status in the Party, I feel that it is necessary to speak upon it today.

I have been reluctantly forced to the conclusion, in studying the development of events, that the position of the American working class is being endangered by threats of breaking-up the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition which played such a decisive role in defeating fascism abroad and at home; and further that this danger has been greatly increased because our Party leadership has forgotten, shelved, or revised the absolutely correct central decisions of our July Convention.

It had been my hope, as I witnessed the step-by-step abandonment of the July Convention political directive by our Party leadership, that other voices than mine would be raised to call the Party back to its true path as

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

"determined by its Convention. Obviously I labor under a severe handicap in raising any question in the Party, and I therefore waited for others, more advantageously situated to speak up. But since the time is growing late, even dangerously late, and no such voices are raised, my conscience will not permit me longer to remain silent.

Permit me to state my views on this question briefly.

What was the central point of our July Convention Resolution?

Obviously it could only be our estimate of the class and political groupings, and their political relationships within the country, their relationship to governmental policies at home and abroad and to the State Power. Upon such an estimate every serious Party must base its strategy and tactics, which are only the practical reflection of this basic estimate.

What was the strategy at the center of our July Convention Resolution?

It was the strategy 'to weld together and consolidate the broadest national coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces, including all supporters of Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies.'

What was the tactic adopted to secure the successful application of this strategy?

It was 'that the American people resolutely support every effort of the Truman Administration to carry forward the policies of the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition.'

What has happened to these two key decisions given to the Party by the National Convention?

They have been completely abandoned, and in their place there has been developed in practice, in life, the opposite strategy of breaking-up the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition, dealing with the Truman Administration as the chief enemy instead of as the governmental expression of the coalition of which we are part and support.

Has this right-about-face by the Communist Party, revising the Convention Resolution, been forced upon us because the other parties to the coalition have broken it up, or because the Truman Administration has gone over to the reactionaries?

No, the Communist Party is the only group of serious importance to leave the coalition, and the Truman Administration is under the sharpest assault from the reactionaries without shirking the issues which keep it at the head of an ever-more-consolidated Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

" Can anyone deny the facts?

Philip ~~Murray~~, speaking the conviction of the vast majority of trade unionists and their allies, gave the keynote for victory in the present historic strike struggles, when he concluded his statement on the opening of the steel strike with the following words:

'The American people must now be mobilized to give President Truman our full support in the struggle which lies ahead to maintain true collective bargaining and protect our free democratic institutions which are being challenged by those in industry who desire to place themselves above all laws and rules of equity and justice.'

Sidney ~~Hillman~~ sent a message to the President in which he said:

'On behalf of the CIO-PAC, I wish to express our deep appreciation of the firm stand you have taken in favor of wage increases to protect American workers against a drastic decline in living standards and to maintain the national purchasing power essential to a healthy economy. We are particularly appreciative of your patient and constructive effort to effect a settlement of the pending steel controversy. The refusal of the steel companies to accept your eminently fair and reasonable proposal fully demonstrates that they are placing their own selfish interests ahead of the national welfare. Be assured that you have our fullest support in the stand you have taken, as well as that of the great majority of the American people.'

And what is the Communist Party saying?

Comrade Foster went into head-on collision with Murray and Hillman. The mildest expression of the sustained campaign against Truman, was when Foster said on January 15 at Madison Square Garden:

' The Truman Administration is following a wavering policy, which is working out to the benefit of the employers.'

Foster denounced Truman as a 'strike-breaker' for the very same acts which caused Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman to praise him and promise him the support of labor and the people. Foster has consistently utilized every occasion of necessary criticism (such as the 30-day 'cooling-off' proposal) to resort instead to unconditional denunciation. Not content with a head-on collision with the CIO, Foster has in the last days made a sharp zig-zag from several months of hysterical appeals for labor unity at all costs, and now practically declared war also against the A.F. of L. leadership.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

" At a Congressional Committee hearing, reported in all newspapers in America, Foster placed the Communist Party in unconditional hostility to Truman, denouncing his Administration as the head and front of political reaction in America and the world.

Foster called upon Wallace and Ickes to resign from Truman's Cabinet, knowing that such a development would wreck the Administration and with it all prospects for the most favorable outcome of the strike movement, as well as wrecking the favorable trend of international relations.

Foster has called for such conduct of the 1946 Congressional Election campaign as to 'begin to lay the basis for an eventual third party progressive movement', knowing that his words repeat the slogan of all who are trying to split up the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition, the Dubinsky Social Democrats, the Thomas Socialists, the Trotskyites, and their allies.

Under the slogan of 'vanguardism' Foster has put our Party membership in a situation of bafflement and unclarity, isolated from their former allies, and uncertain who are friends and who are enemies.

Foster has led the Communist Party out of the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition, in violation of the July Convention decision; it is necessary that the Communist Party shall immediately restore that decision, and strive to regain its position within that Coalition.

Finally, what has happened to the Convention decision demanding 'a larger, stronger, more influential and more effective mass organization of Communists.'

Foster has given us the opposite of his promise.

He has created such conditions that our Party has not only dropped all its gains of 1944, but twice as much; the membership figures and level of activities are the lowest they have been in many years. Only to read the official admissions of the bad state of the Party is to get a picture of demoralization and apathy which has not been seen since the days of Lovestonism. Factionalism, for 15 years not a major problem of our Party, is now spreading like an epidemic through the ranks from above, factionalism of the most unprincipled kind which dare not put forth its objective but skulks behind the scenes.

To give this whole development its full significance, one must identify it by its scientific name. It is the trend of anarcho-syndicalism.

Nothing but drastic and quick correction, returning to the decisions of the July Convention, can save the working class and our Party from grave damage.

EARL BROWDER "

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The Daily Worker of February 7, 1946 reported that the National Board of the Communist Party at a meeting on February 5th unanimously recommended to the National Committee, which shall meet on February 12th, that EARL BROWDER should be expelled from the Communist Party." The text of the statement was set out in full. The decision was based on the considerations that BROWDER had "failed to utilize various opportunities (e.g., at the House Un-American Activities Committee meetings) actively to defend the policies and line of the Party and pass over from being a passive to an active opponent of the Party" as indicated by the facts that he had "without the Party's approval embarked on a business undertaking, the publication of Distributors Guide, Inc."; that he "attempts to involve certain comrades in his anti-Party conspiracy"; that though he refused to meet with the National Secretariat on January 29th he did appear before the Yonkers Communist Club misrepresenting the "line and actions of the Party" and advancing a "new document as a basis for waging a factual struggle within the Party", and at the National Board meeting February 5th at which time he was given a hearing, he "cynically refused to reply to the charges or to answer any questions."

"For all these acts", the text stated, "BROWDER has placed himself outside the ranks of the Communist Party and the working class movement."

More fully with respect to the Distributors Guide, the National Board statement charged that "after the National Committee meeting in November 1945 and without the Party's approval, BROWDER embarked on a 'business' undertaking, the publication of Distributors Guide, Inc. This is an ordinary expression in which he acts as advisor to Big Business along a political line that coincides with the interests of the employers and of American imperialism. In this publication BROWDER presents a political platform in which he has developed his revisionism of Marxism to an open defense to American imperialism and unreserved support for the entire policy of the Truman administration including its imperialist course in foreign affairs. Through this publication, which is a weapon of struggle with which he opposes and attacks the political line of the Party, BROWDER is working to establish contact not only with various members in the Party and with trade union leaders in this country, but also with leaders of other parties in this hemisphere."

The National Board statement was published in the Daily Worker of February 7, 1946 captioned "CP Board Asks BROWDER Expulsion". It was learned from Confidential Informant T-1 that FOSTER, in a talk with JOHN WILLIAMSON indicated that he was highly displeased with the headline prefacing the National Board statement. FOSTER, terming this "such stupid journalism" in the handling of "such an important document", emphasized to

~~SECRET~~

WILLIAMSON that "we did not ask his expulsion". He inquired why the Daily Worker did not say that action had been proposed. FOSTER stated it was not an expulsion but simply a recommendation to the National Committee. WILLIAMSON countered by asserting that it had all the finality of an expulsion and was in itself an action which BROWDER could appeal and that pending the National Committee meeting BROWDER actually was expelled. FOSTER disagreed since he argued it had to be acted upon as "it was like a sub-committee reporting to a major committee". FOSTER implored WILLIAMSON to talk to the individuals responsible and commented "Our people never pay attention to headlines. They don't think that they are important."

On February 7, 1946 the New York World Telegram in an unsigned article entitled "BROWDER, Facing Red Ouster, Seeks to Visit Russia", reported that BROWDER, "who will be expelled from the Communist Party next Tuesday on the grounds that he deserted revolutionary Americanism for American imperialism, was trying to get into the Soviet Union ... The news caused consternation and boundless speculation among the Party's top leaders, for Mr. BROWDER had apparently obtained guarantees of a visa and safe conduct from the Soviet Embassy. His attempt to visit Russia was accepted as evidence that their discredited chief hopes to lay his case before the highest Soviet authorities including Premier Stalin, who personally put him in charge of the American Communist movement sixteen years ago. There was another possibility, Mr. BROWDER will seek to become an official trade representative of the Soviet Union in America. His newly organized business firm, Distributors Guide, Inc., has broad powers, under its incorporation, to act as 'principal, factors, agents or commissioned merchants' to carry on the business of exporters and importers.

Following the action of the National Board, BROWDER circulated a printed appeal bearing the date February 8, 1946, which was addressed to the National Committee, CP, USA, which also contained a reproduction of his statement before the Yonkers Communist Party Club which has been quoted in full in preceding portions of this report. The appeal to the National Committee reads as follows:

"Dear Comrades:

I hereby appeal to you against the decision of the National Board, published in the Daily Worker of Feb. 7, expelling me from membership in the Party, on the following grounds:

1) The indecent haste of the proceedings renders the entire proposal suspect, and therefore not in the best interest of the Party.

I was called before the National Board on Feb. 5, and there was handed a copy of the decision which it was proposed to adopt. When I demanded that charges in writing should be given me, with an opportunity to prepare my



~~SECRET~~

"answer, I was told that the draft decision constituted the 'written charges' and a copy was now in my possession, therefore the Board would proceed to hold a trial. The questions submitted to me to answer were: 'Give us the names of all Party members with whom you have spoken since the Convention, and the nature of your conversations', and others of similar purport. My request for a few days time to prepare a political answer to the proposed decision was refused by formal vote on motion of Comrade Foster. I thereupon refused to answer the particular questions asked of me, and declared that I considered the issue of proper procedure of great importance, and not 'the cheap trick of a petty-segging lawyer' (as the draft decision was amended to say).

May I say for the record, that during the 3-month campaign carried on in the Party for my expulsion by the National Secretariat and members of the Board, the charges wildly circulated have ranged the whole gamut of social and political crimes excepting perhaps that of murder, that I never before Feb. 5 received any notification of charges of any kind (except through newspapers and gossip), and was never given an opportunity to combat these charges. It was therefore quite reasonable for me to demand a few days to prepare my answer. It was unreasonable, and harmful to the Party, when the National Board rushed to a decision within the hour after the first written charges were submitted, and those charges already in the form of a final decision.

2) On Feb. 1, I had been called to the Yonkers Club of which I am a member, to 'discuss your relationship with the Party'. I did not receive from the Yonkers Club, however, any written charges. I had heard orally from a fellow-member that on Jan. 29, a motion calling for my expulsion had been submitted to a Westchester County membership meeting, which was defeated by a vote of 64 to 52, and which was subsequently referred to the Yonkers Club. I presumed that the Club would consider that resolution, and therefore prepared an answer to it as it had been reported to me, and read this answer to the Club (giving them a written copy), and submitted to unlimited questioning, even though these proceedings were highly irregular. I have never been informed as to the action of the Club on these proceedings. The Board decision now mentions my statement before the Yonkers Club executive, but to my knowledge its contents have never been made known. I therefore attach a copy herewith, as a part of this appeal.

3) The Board decision states: 'Browder has continuously resisted the program and decisions of the Convention.' This is completely false, and not the slightest evidence exists to support such a charge.

I publicly accepted the Party Convention decisions and subordinated myself to them, because I profoundly believed that their central strategic and tactical conclusions, to do everything to maintain the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition and to realize its program, and to support the Truman

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"Administration in all its efforts to that end, were absolutely sound decisions, and therefore all other matters were subordinate thereto. I never appealed against any decisions which I had opposed before, and consider those issues closed. The only charge that might lie against me in relation to the Convention decisions, is that I failed to speak up to criticize and oppose the steps taken by Foster, supported by his associates in the leadership, to withdraw from the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition and to break up the Truman Administration at a moment when it was improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy and aligning itself with labor in the biggest inner political struggle since 1944. It is the National Board which has departed from the Convention decisions, and not myself. It has done so without a pretense of consultation with the Party, apparently operating upon the theory that the Board's position of leadership includes full power to change Convention decisions and to suppress even to the point of expulsion all criticism of such actions.

4) The Board decision states: 'He has violated his pledge to the National Convention to place himself at the disposal of the Party and, by refusing to accept any assignment from the Party, has violated Party discipline and deserted Communist duties and responsibilities.' This charge is completely false, and not the slightest evidence exists to support such a charge.

No assignment of any kind was ever offered to me in any form, and no decision as to my party work was ever transmitted to me. On the contrary, I was specifically told in a meeting with the Secretariat in September, that there was no work available for me in the Party. As to my period of non-attendance in the Yonkers Club, this was in specific agreement with local and national leadership, as explained in my statement to the Yonkers Club.

5) The Board decision states: 'He has carried on factional activity and a campaign of unprincipled attacks against the leadership of our Party and of our brother French Party.' This charge is completely false, and not the slightest evidence exists to support such a charge.

Nothing could be more silly than to charge the existence of a 'faction' which no one can locate, and a campaign of which no one knows the content. As a matter of fact I have been completely cut off from contact with the Party membership for more than seven months, even my speech to the National Convention has been suppressed and is entirely unknown except to those who were present there, and but for the continued public reiteration of my name in the Party press, as the synonym for all deviations from Marxism, I might have passed completely into oblivion—certainly would, if it had depended upon any word or action on my part. No charge can even plausibly be made against me except 'inactivity' and that I have fully answered in my statement to the Yonkers Club.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

" 6) The charge that I 'adopted an equivocal attitude' at the Un-American Committee hearings is a vile falsehood and slander, manufactured out of whole cloth. (Incidentally, the supposed quotation on this matter from the November Plenum report contains a forgery, since its last sentence was added on the galley-proofs after the Plenum was adjourned). Previous to the Washington hearings, I met twice with the Secretariat and outlined how I proposed to conduct myself there, including the much-quoted 'private citizen' phrase. Not the slightest objection was raised to my proposals. I followed the agreed line strictly in the hearings. A member of the National Board and the Board's attorney were present, and at the conclusion of both sessions in which controversial issues were handled, they both shook hands with me and congratulated me on my successful handling of the Committee. Later, after the hearings, Foster overruled the opinion of those who were present, so they changed their minds without even notifying me.

This accusation is a flagrant case of bad faith and disloyalty on the part of the accusers. It is a crude frame-up after the event.

7) The Board decision, ascribing to me views which I do not hold and actions which I have not performed, proclaims me 'outside the working class movement' and my supposed views as 'enemy-class ideology,' and not a 'trend in the labor movement.' This is preposterous babbling, a parrot-like repetition of the formula by which the Trotskyites were condemned in the Soviet Union after years of patient and thorough refutation of all their views, and after they had plunged into violent sabotage, armed rebellion and conspiracy with the fascist enemy abroad. Its basis in the Board's decision is purely in the fevered imagination of the decision's author.

What nonsense this is requires no argument by me. Even the views falsely ascribed to me are, according to Political Affairs, Feb. 1946, the views of 'the great mass of trade unionists', plus Roosevelt, plus Henry Wallace, plus President Truman, plus all progressive democrats who have not yet come to Marxism-Leninism.

The resolution which describes these views as 'not a trend in the labor movement', and as 'enemy-class ideology', is signed first of all by the same person who signed the article in Political Affairs, namely, Wm. Z. Foster.

Can confusion be worse confounded than this?

In his fantastic factional hatred, Foster has not hesitated to declare the views of 'the great mass of trade unionists' as 'enemy-class ideology', only in order thereby to blacken my name before the membership and before the world. What happens to me is relatively unimportant, but it is supremely important that the Party and the great trade union movement shall not be stultified and confused by such irresponsible factionalist chatterboxes.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

" 8) The stupid charge that I have become 'adviser to Big Business' by editing a mimeographed bulletin in 200 copies, called 'Distributors Guide', circulated exclusively in circles long allies of ours is a typical example of hysteria. Whatever 'advice' might be distilled from these bulletins, is exclusively for higher wages for the workers and for the execution of the Roosevelt program, support to which was pledged by our July Convention. I would be most happy to have these writings examined by any intelligent group, not under factional hysteria or control, to confirm my characterization of them.

The assumption is made in the decision that I am under obligation, as a disciplined rank-and-file Party member, to submit every word I put on paper to the censorship of Foster or someone appointed by him for that purpose. I am sure that very, very few of the thousands of writers and newspapermen now or lately in our Party, or the hundreds of economists, could possibly accept this principle and continue both their professions and their Party membership. The Party controls, or should control, or can control in detailed manner going further than the question of main political alignment, only those writings which are published, as expression of Party policy. Any control of writings that goes beyond this, is newly-manufactured policy for the purpose of the case against me.

The bulletins I am editing are economic analyses, with a very limited circulation, they have no general circulation in the Party and are not intended to have, they are not proposals for Party policy and are not for the purpose of influencing such policy. They examine current economic problems from the premises generally accepted in the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition to which our July Convention pledged support, and attempt to deepen and further unfold these commonly-accepted premises in the sense and direction of the Marxist analysis of capitalism.

To make these writings of mine the basis of expulsion from the Party, is in effect to copy the most extreme caricatures of the Communists drawn by our enemies. Slandorous caricatures by our enemies cannot seriously harm us, but when they are copied in our own Party actions, then indeed we are in grave danger.

9) The charge that in the past two weeks I have dropped my 'inactivity' and launched 'attempts to involve certain comrades' and to 'broaden his contacts with individual members and sympathizers', doubtless refers to my appearance before the Yonkers Club executive, and the statement I there made sharply criticising the departure of our Party leadership from the July Convention decisions.

I appeared before the Yonkers Club executive by its written instructions. There the demand was made that I express my opinions fully and frankly so that they could judge the validity of current attacks being made upon me

~~SECRET~~

"before the Party. In my statement to the Yonkers Club I was exercising nothing more than the rights of any member, and I am willing to the demands of party discipline. I believe that I have increased can be made. I am not a revisionist and I am not an imperialist."

CONCLUSION, I call upon the National Committee to reject the proposal for my expulsion.

EARL BROWDER "

On the date of the issuance of BROWDER's appeal to the National Committee on February 8, 1946, there appeared in the Daily Worker an editorial entitled "Fight Browderism", which stated in part: "The case of EARL BROWDER enters a new phase ... Browderism is now one of the weapons of the monopolies against the working class in the present struggle involving millions of workers in strikes ... Browderism joins with the capitalist forces just when the working class and democratic forces feel the weight of imperialist attack. The pretention of 'theoretical differences' fades away as Browderism now acts as an influence in favor of the trusts .... The fight against Browderism as against all varieties of capitalist ideas will require that every Communist increase his mastery of Marxism-Leninism, intensify his study of the classes of scientific socialism ..."

On February 11, 1946, according to Confidential Informant T1, FOSTER and WILLIAMSON in preparing the agenda for the National Plenum which began its deliberations the following day, discussed the completeness of the case against BROWDER. It was noted that BROWDER had refused to furnish copies of the Distributors Guide for the use of the committee in weighing his case. FOSTER pointed out that this alone constituted the basis for disciplinary action and was actually of such a degree of Party violation as to constitute grounds for expulsion.

Later that day, ROBERT MINOR and WILLIAMSON, according to informant, conferred on the matter, at which time MINOR stated that he had received all the available copies of the Distributors Guide from FOSTER except one. WILLIAMSON stated that he and DENNIS had decided the day previous to have someone go through the copies that day and extract the vilest passages to present to the National Committee. MINOR said that the Party had but one set of the Guides and therefore, complete sets could not be furnished to everyone.

In an article in the February 11, 1946 issue of the Daily Worker, FOSTER sought to show that "Browderism was condemned in Latin America." He wrote that "The revisionist line of EARL BROWDER came in for

SECRET

"complete condemnation by the People's Socialist Party (the Marxist-Leninist State Party of Cuba) at its convention in Havana, December 24-28. This condemnation by the Cuban Communists was shared in by fraternal delegates from various other American Communist parties from Canada in the North, Chile in the South ... Due to BROWDER's international prestige his paralyzing ideas managed to penetrate the the Communist parties of Latin America. This did them great damage insofar as they fell victims to BROWDER's revisionism."

FOSTER mentioned that General Secretary CARLOS CONTRERAS LABARCA of the Communist Party in Chile reported to its Santiago Convention, December 8-15, 1945 that "Our party ... has suffered from alien influences that have led it towards opportunist deviations due expressly to its insufficient ideological and theoretical development and to the influences of the revisionist conceptions of BROWDER." BLAS ROCA, General Secretary of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba, devoted a dozen pages of a 66 page report to an "incisive analysis and repudiation of Browderism". ... "After fully accepting the argumentation of the DUCLOS article and frankly admitting his and his Party's mistakes in accepting BROWDER's line, he then pointed out that their Party had not sunk so deeply into revisionism as had the Communist Party of the United States. He indicated that they had not liquidated their Party nor had they interpreted the Teheran agreement as implying a long-term class peace in Cuba."

In connection with BROWDER's relations with South American Communists, it is interesting to note that on September 3, 1945 Dr. JOSE ANTONIO ARZE, head of the Bolivian Party of the Revolutionary Left (PIR) disclosed to his girlfriend, HEDY SELIGSOHN, as Confidential Informant T8 learned, that MARION BACHRACH, Executive Secretary of the Council for Pan American Democracy and a known associate of VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, head of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL), Mexico City, had stated at a conference that same day at which TOLEDANO, MULIUS HEIMAN and ARZE were among those present, that the Latin American parties were not supporting the new line of the Communist Party in this country because BROWDER, deposed as leader, had many friends in South America and she remarked that everyone was worried about this attitude.

Confidential Informant T9 reported that JUAN FRANCISCO MEJICA, a leading Communist in Colombia who returned to Bogota, Colombia in February 1946, probably brought back to South America with him a somewhat similar impression. It was learned, according to informant, that through the inter-session of FILIBERTO BARRERO, previously identified as the secretary of the Confederation of Colombian Workers, MEJICA was able to arrange an interview with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. The two men, informant relates, discussed the case of BROWDER, at which time FOSTER is reported to have said that it would be

SECRET

SECRET

difficult to say that BROWDER had actually betrayed the Communist Party and that perhaps BROWDER acted in good faith but was deceived by his best friends who were the ones who betrayed the Party. According to informant, FOSTER expressed the belief that one day when it is least expected BROWDER will return to the ranks of the Party with greater strength and drive than ever to fight for the strengthening of Communism in the United States.

On February 12, 1946, according to the Daily Worker of February 14, 1946, BROWDER was expelled from the Communist Party by the Yonkers Branch to which he belonged. The article stated, "The vote was unanimous among the 35 present except for BROWDER's brother, WILLIAM, who distributed and read an eighteen page mimeographed pamphlet containing EARL's reply to charges made by the National Board." This action followed the recommendation of the "Branch Executive which met with EARL BROWDER for two and a half hours two weeks ago."

### 3. Expulsion of BROWDER from Communist Party

The National Committee Plenum of the Communist Party, USA was held at the Hotel Albert, New York City, February 12-15, 1946. It was devoted primarily to the discussion of ways and means of building the Party. However, on the afternoon of Wednesday, February 13, 1946, the matter of the BROWDER expulsion was taken up. ROBERT THOMPSON, National Board member and member of the Secretariat, New York, delivered a report captioned "The Expulsion of EARL BROWDER". (This report has since appeared in printed pamphlet form entitled "The Path of the Renegade"). Excerpts from this report follow:

" Since December 1943, our Party has passed through through three stages: (1) The first state was the period from December 1943 to V-E Day. This was the period when cooperation between the labor movement and Government was at its height. Some illusions arose among the working class and in the Party relative to the nature of the struggle between labor and capital. BROWDER developed the ideas that the anti-Soviet conspiracy of the capitalist nations was over, that discrimination against negroes in employment was at an end and the like. In general, BROWDER subjected the interests of the working classes to those of the capitalists.

" (2) The second stage runs roughly from the closing day of the war against Germany until the national convention in 1945. It was during this period that opposition to BROWDER led by FOSTER began to grow, and the task during this period was to isolate and shatter the influence of Browder.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

" (3) The third stage was the period between our national convention and the meeting of this committee. Our Party has made progress in the seven months since our convention in the repudiation of opportunism. Browder in this period advanced from refusal to accept the policies of the Party to actively combating its policies.

" The feature of Browder's current factional activities deserves a few special remarks. In the same manner as in an earlier period, Browder betrayed socialism in the name of Marx, and liquidated our party in the name of Lenin, he is in this period attempting to organize factional struggles against our party's policies and leadership in the name of our July National Convention.

" In his infamous factional letter addressed to 'The Yonkers Club and All Members of the Communist Party', Browder proclaims that 'our party leadership has forgotten, shelved, or revised the absolutely correct central decisions of our July Plenum'. He further charges that 'Foster has led the Communist Party out of the Roosevelt-Labor-Democratic coalition in violation of the July Convention decisions'. And then Browder adds, 'It has been my hope, as I witnessed the step-by-step abandonment of the July convention's directives by our party leadership, that other voices than mine would be raised to call the party back to its true path as determined by its convention ... But since time is growing late, even dangerously late, and no such voices are raised, my conscience will not permit me longer to remain silent.'

" Our Party has had some little experience with Browder's unprincipledness, and so, therefore, it seems as no surprise that this man who fought tooth and nail against our July convention's resolution on policy, and still fights against it, nevertheless simultaneously attempts to clasp it to his bosom, distort it, and utilize it as a factional weapon.

✓ " Our Party has had some little experience with Browder's personal arrogance and, therefore, it comes as no surprise that this man, so overwhelmingly repudiated by the membership of our party, now proclaims for himself the authority to instruct our party as to how it is to interpret and apply party policy, and further, proclaims that the National Committee of our party, elected by our party, does not have the authority to interpret, develop and apply party policy.

" The point worthy of comment in Browder's position, the crux of his whole position is his opposition to the trend toward the development of independent political action on the part of the working class and its allies.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

" In this '... letter to all party members', Browder bemoans the fact that 'Foster has called for such conduct of the 1946 Congressional election campaign as to 'begin to lay the basis for an eventual third party progressive movement'. What Browder bemoans, our party and the workers and progressives applaud.

" It is understandable that our party should wholeheartedly agree with Foster on this matter, for he is expressing our Party's policy.

" In a general way, our National Convention resolution stated this policy in the following manner:

'It is essential to weld together the broadest coalition of all anti-fascist and democratic forces as well as all other supporters of Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies.'

" This policy was further developed, rounded out and concretized at our last National Committee meeting in the report of Comrade Dennis:

'It is necessary from now on to create the conditions and base for organizing a major third party nationally, a democratic people's party, an anti-fascist, anti-monopoly party - with a mass trade union base and under labor's political influence. Likewise, this is the way to facilitate the establishment of government, representative of and based on the true democratic forces, and which will carry out a progressive policy.

'In projecting this perspective and working toward it, it is necessary to guard against several dangers. For one thing, labor and the progressives must avoid any premature organizational steps. The majority of the labor and progressive movement still has to be convinced and won over for a third party. Therefore, in bringing forward the question of a third party, of a democratic people's party, and in enlisting support for such a move, it is essential that the advocates of a third party do not weaken their cooperative relationship with those anti-fascists who do not yet favor a third party'.

" It is understandable that Browder should consider this policy of beginning 'to lay the basis for an eventual third party progressive movement' as the cardinal sin of sins. In Browder's eyes, the rights of the capitalist class are sacred, and to challenge them is criminal. And what does this policy do? Why, it challenges the right of the capitalist class to lead the working class in the political life of our country; it challenges the right of the capitalist class to run the government of this country as it sees fit; it leads in the direction of

~~SECRET~~

X

"challenging the right of the capitalist class to run this country at all. It is understandable that Browder should be alarmed by such a policy.

" Now, comrades, I would like just to make a couple of comments on the appeal which all of us received this morning from Browder against the board's recommendation for his expulsion. I don't think it needs any detailed treatment. I just want to comment on one or two points in it.

" First, we might remark on the first point Browder raises - that the indecent haste of the proceedings for his expulsion renders the whole proposal suspect. Well, I think it is true that our party may be in for a little criticism of the speed with which we have moved against Browder, but it will not be from the side that Browder raises it. If our party is to be criticized for anything, it is for allowing this alien element, this representative of the class enemy to remain too long and do too much damage to our party while in its ranks.

" Then, I would just call your attention, on the second page, to the central point I dealt with a couple of minutes ago, contained in the following sentence in the middle of the first paragraph:

'... The only charge that might lie against me in relation to the convention decisions is that I failed to speak up to criticize and oppose ... the withdrawal from the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition and to break up the Truman Administration at a moment when it was improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy and aligning itself with labor in the biggest inner political struggle since 1944.'

" I think it is worthwhile our just looking over especially this thought expressed in his statement that the Truman Administration is 'improving its implementation of Roosevelt's foreign policy.' This gives a real insight into the direction, the distance, and the speed with which Browder is moving.

" What does Browder consider the 'improving' of the 'implementation' of Roosevelt's foreign policy? Does he consider the use of American soldiers and marines and weapons of war in China an 'improving' of Roosevelt's foreign policy? Does he consider American policy today in the Philippines such an 'implementation' of that policy? Does he consider the transfer of planes and equipment to the head of the one remaining full-blown fascist state in the world, Franco, an 'implementation' of Roosevelt's policy? Does he consider that the policy of preservation of the base of monopoly capital and fascism in Germany

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

"through the sabotage of the Potsdam decisions an 'implementation' of that policy? Does he consider the atomic bomb diplomacy of the United States an 'implementation' of that policy?

" What is really represented here is the assumption by Browder of the position of an energetic and active social - chauvinist and supporter right down the line of the worst aspects and of all aspects of the imperialist policy of our government.

" It is worth <sup>NOTING THAT ALSO</sup> ~~while nothing else here~~ that it is on the labor movement and on our party that Browder places the responsibility for the breaking up of the former Roosevelt-labor-progressive coalition. He gives a complete whitewash to the basically anti-labor orientation and of the specific anti-labor policies of the Truman Administration in this period, including its opening up the front for anti-labor legislation through the introduction of the fact-finding and cooling-off proposal, the abandonment of the fight for FEPC, and the other aspects of the Truman Administration's policy which directly give aid to the monopolists and hurt the labor movement and people.

" Then I would call attention to that portion of this document in which, after dealing with the fact that our National Board recommendation correctly characterizes his actions as placing himself outside of the working class, he says:

'... This is preposterous babbling, a parrot-like repetition of the formula by which the Trotskyites were condemned in the Soviet Union after years of patient and thorough refutation of all their views, and after they had plunged into violent sabotage, armed rebellion and conspiracy with the fascist enemy abroad.'

" What is the meaning of this declaration on Browder's part? I think that a part of it is that Browder is appealing to us to wait until perhaps he has conducted similar acts. I think that is his advice to us, but I think we can and must and will say that Browder has done quite enough harm already to our party without waiting for him to do any further harm, and that we are not going to wait patiently for years while he does further and even greater damage to our party and the working class by virtue of his remaining in our ranks.

" I would point out also that this whole section of this document is only one step removed from an open defense of Trotskyism both as it manifested itself in the Soviet Union and here in the United States.

" Then, under point 3 of this document, Browder says: 'I would be most happy to have these writings (referring to his Distributors Guide)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

"examined by any intelligent group, not under factional hysteria or control, to confirm my characterization of them."

" We must keep in mind that it is our party Browder is referring to here, and the leadership of our party, and that he is calling it an hysterical and factional controlling leadership and party and is just another and further crass expression of his whole attitude and contempt for our party. We could say also that his implication that our party is not an intelligent body is not something new in Browder; he has never thought the working class or our party intelligent. Undoubtedly, Browder has in mind certain other class forces and groups in the country of whose intelligence he has for a long time had a very high opinion, such groups perhaps as the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce.

" And lastly on this document, I would just turn your attention to a very important portion - the last paragraph of page 3, and running over to page 4, where he challenges the right of our party to control the political activity of a member of the party. This represents nothing more nor less than an effort to tear down party authority, to break up our internal party unity and discipline, and is no less than a justification and an attempt to encourage such loosening and irresponsible and inexcusable breaches of party discipline and control of policies as was represented by the publication in the New Masses of the smear Trotskyist article of MAITZ.

" Comrades, Browder's path since our National Convention has been the path of a renegade of the working class. Renegades belong in the gutter of history, not in the ranks of the party whose duty it is to make history. This meeting of our National Committee has the responsibility of expelling Browder from our party, of branding him for renegade that he is, of raising to a new level the struggle within our party and in the labor movement against the class ideology and policies which he represents.

" The expulsion of Browder does not represent a cheap and easy way of eliminating the need for struggle on the political and ideological front against Browder's revisionism. It is not a substitute of organizational, for political and ideological weapons of struggle. It does mean the extension of the struggle against Browderism to the organizational as well as the political and ideological fronts.

" It does mean, and this is most important that a new calibre of struggle on the political and ideological fronts must be achieved. It does mean that our party must move more speedily and resolutely in all phases of party activities, and particularly in certain fields of party activity and on certain theoretical questions where we have been

~~SECRET~~

"sadly lagging, to rout out strong remnants of revisionism in theory and practice.

" Browder is an individual, but Browderism is an enemy class ideology and influence. The expulsion of Browder, and of any who consciously choose the side of Browder and the class enemy in the struggle against our party, is necessary in the first place because their presence in our ranks blocks and makes impossible the rooting out of the class influence which they represent.

" The expulsion of Browder will clear the road for, and facilitate, a more thorough-going struggle in our party, extending into all phases of party work, against Browderism and all right opportunist tendencies of conciliation of Browderism, as well as against petty bourgeois radicalism and 'left' sectarianism. It will close the door with finality on the periods in which our party has been an arena of struggle between Browderism and Marxism. It will mark an important step forward along the road of reshaping our party as a unified Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the American working class. "

Following THOMPSON's report, the National Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution expelling BROWDER from the Communist Party:

" 1. The National Committee has considered and approves the recommendation of the National Board, and the demand from the ranks of our Party organizations, that Earl Browder be expelled from the Communist Party for gross violation of Party discipline and decisions, for active opposition to the political line and leadership of our Party, for developing factional activity and for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy - American monopoly capital.

" 2. The National Committee categorically rejects the document presented today by Earl Browder, in which he appeals to the National Committee against his expulsion. Browder's appeal in itself confirms the correctness of the charges preferred against him by the Board. Moreover, Browder's appeal is nothing more or less than an anti-Marxist platform of struggle submitted by a social-imperialist who aims to wage political-ideological warfare against the Communist Party, against Marxism. Therefore, the National Committee hereby and does expel Earl Browder from the Communist Party.

" 3. The struggle against Browder and Browderism now enters a new stage. The struggle against Browder and Browderism is no longer a struggle against a trend in the Communist and labor movements. It

~~SECRET~~

"is now a struggle against a deserter from communism, against an alien ideology and influence.

"The entire Party must be on guard against the factional activity which Browder is now trying to organize through such means as personal contacts, the circulation of the letter addressed to 'All Party Members', and the 'Distributors Guide, Inc.'

" The Party must be vigilant to preserve and strengthen the unity of the Party. It must root out all vestiges of revisionism and all rotten liberal attitudes toward Browder and the conciliators of Browderism. It must wage an uncompromising political-ideological struggle against Browderism which is an enemy class ideology.

" In this way our Party can and will strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. It will equip itself rapidly to become a mass party, and more effectively perform its vanguard role today and in the great economic and political struggles which lie ahead."

4  
(C) The above information was supplied by Confidential Informant T10. However, the resolution of the National Committee was also published in the Daily Worker of February 14, 1946. Typical of the press comments on the announced expulsion is the editorial which appeared in the New York Sun of February 15, 1946 under the caption "The Boot for BROWDER". The editorial writer commented in part: "The expulsion is a poor reward for skillful performance of a difficult role. Without preparation, almost without warning, on June 22, 1941 when Russia was attacked by Nazi Germany, BROWDER had to speak not just new lines but a whole new script having to do with the need for war production, the fight for democratic freedom, etc. Yet, because he played this part a little too long to suit the script writers at Moscow, he is out on the street without a party, without even references."

The Daily Worker under date of February 19, 1946, countered in an editorial captioned "BROWDER And the New York Times" by saying, "Among the important decisions of the Communist National Committee meeting last week was the forthright final disposition of the case of EARL BROWDER. This expulsion will be welcomed in Communist ranks and help strengthen the entire working class movement ... Of course, the New York Times - that anxious matron of capitalism - attempts to belittle the expulsion of BROWDER in a recent editorial. The Times jeers at the Communists and attempts an airy dismissal of a serious thing. All that is only a phrase in the welcome which capitalism as a whole has prepared for Browderism. For it is another of the buried weapons of capitalism in the arsenal of battle against the working class. But Communists take such matters seriously.... The discussion

~~SECRET~~

"of BROWDER himself and about his ideas is over. The job is to eradicate those ideas within the labor and progressive movement where they will constantly arise because they represent the continual capitalist offensive against Marxism and the working class."

On February 23, 1946, according to Confidential Informant T1, SOPHIE GOFF, told MAX WEISS, educational director of the New York State Communist organization, that she had received in the mail that morning a four-page folder headed "Appeal of EARL BROWDER To The Members of the CP, USA!" It developed that BROWDER was pushing his appeal through lists of names in his possession some of which, according to Confidential Informant [redacted] previously mentioned, constituted the mailing list of the Daily Worker and Worker which, it was later learned, was secured by WILLIAM E. BROWDER from an employee of the Communist Party Headquarters by the name of WILLIAM BERKE who, Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised was later dismissed from his employment for having supplied BROWDER with the list.

A copy of this appeal was furnished by Confidential Informant T2. The appeal, in the form of a four-page folder, contained the statement of BROWDER made on February 1, 1946 to the Yonkers Club and the statement of February 8, 1946 to the National Committee, with the following preface: "The decision of the National Committee confirming my expulsion from the Party by the Secretariat and National Board leaves me the recourse only of appealing to the Party membership. I am, therefore, transmitting to the membership, in the only channel available to me, the text of my appeal to the National Committee (which includes my statement to the Yonkers Club)."

"My appeal is not a personal matter. It is a test case which will decide the character of our Party for some time to come. If a leadership, elected in a moment of hysteria and confusion in an atmosphere which FOSTER has himself described as 'the atomic bomb effect', and then proceed by expulsion on grounds of shadowy and without substance as in this case, to silence or criticize their course even when it includes basic revision of the decisions of the Convention which elected it, then the conclusion is inescapable; all effective inner-Party democracy has been destroyed.

"It is my opinion that the membership can find the ways and means to halt this disintegrating process.

"Let me make it clear that I am not appealing for support to any special political platform nor am I putting myself forth as candidate for any leading post in the Party. I ask only for the right to remain a rank and file member of the Party to which I have given my life's work, and for the right of every rank-and-file member to raise his voice in criticism when Convention decisions are reversed by the leadership without consulting the Party."

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

The folder also contained a "coupon" with the explanation, "The mailing of these documents to the Party membership was made necessary by the closing of all normal channels to me. In order to do this I have had to borrow and expend money. I ask those who agree that this was necessary and in the interests of the Party and the working class, to write to me expressing their views and to make a contribution in money to defray the expenses, using the attached coupon if desired. Make all remittances payable to Earl Browder, Box 145, So. Sta., Yonkers 5, New York."

The National Review Commission, Communist Party, USA, on February 25, 1946, as published in the Daily Worker of February 26, 1946, "issued a warning against the latest attempt by EARL BROWDER to disrupt and weaken the Party and the labor movement." It noted that "BROWDER is now engaged in an open campaign against the Party. As part of this struggle he is making every effort to split the Party. He is circulating a printed document among Party members and among non-Communists, urging the membership and all whom he addresses to acts of disloyalty and opposition to the Party, to its national leadership, to its political line ... 'Appealing' to the members and sympathizers of the Party, he demagogically states that he has 'no other recourse' now that he is expelled by the National Committee but this is demagoguery of a most unprincipled sort. The constitution of the Communist Party specifically provides that 'Any member who has been subject to disciplinary action has a right to appeal to the next higher body, up to the National Convention, whose decision shall be final', but BROWDER ... never had any intention of using the democratic channels and processes within the Party. BROWDER is now duplicating in his own way what Lovestone and Cannon did in attempting to create an anti-Party group outside the Party .... It is no accident that BROWDER's effort to disorient and disrupt the Party came at a time when American monopoly capital is launching its reactionary offensive against the working class and the people as a whole ..."

The National Review Commission's finding was signed by RAY HANSBROUGH, chairman; CHARLES KRUMBEIN, vice chairman; SAUL WELLMAN, secretary.

The Daily Worker of February 27, 1946, reported that there was wide-spread support being indicated for the action of the National Committee in expelling BROWDER from the ranks of the Communist Party. Confidential Informant [redacted] reported on March 15, 1946 that a directive had been issued by the State Committee of the Party to all branches and clubs in New York City instructing the executive committees to hold discussions on BROWDER's expulsion which were to be followed by a vote of the membership to determine their opinion on the question whether or not they were in agreement with the decision of the National Committee.

b7D

~~SECRET~~



SIX

Confidential Informant [T1] March 18, 1946 reported that MAX WEISS and JOE NORTH, editor of the alleged Communist controlled weekly "New Masses", conferred at which time BROWDER and his appeal were discussed. WEISS expressed the Communist Party attitude towards BROWDER's bulletin "Distributors Guide" by describing it as "an anti-Party organ which BROWDER established in order to foment factional anti-Party strike."

Later that day A. B. MAGIL, also of the editorial staff of New Masses, discussed with WEISS the BROWDER situation. At this time MAGIL brought out the fact that BROWDER had refused to place himself at the disposal of the Party for assignment to any work. MAGIL felt that BROWDER's attitude was not consistent with the principles of the freedom of writers or journalists but what it involved was actually the right of the Party to control the political activity of a member of the Party. MAGIL stated, "To try to have the Party believe that he has to be judged in the same way that a newspaper reporter should who happens to be a member of the Party or that an economic analyst who belongs to the Party should be judged by this is ridiculous. This is nonsense. BROWDER is not a journalist. BROWDER is not an economist. BROWDER is a former secretary of the Party whose policies were rejected by the Party and who is now using this medium or was using that medium to attempt to violate the decision of the Party and to circulate his views." In doing so, MAGIL emphasized, BROWDER was really fighting the Party. He pointed out that if future writings ever should be made, to refrain from discussions in relation to BROWDER the responsibilities of writers for if that were done they would only help BROWDER in his objective of diverting the issue.

Confidential Informant [redacted] mentioned earlier in this report, reported that GERALD L. K. SMITH on March 4, 1946 sent a communication to BROWDER from Chicago to the effect that press notices had revealed that BROWDER could not secure employment and was being persecuted by the Party. SMITH, according to informant, offered BROWDER a nation-wide speaking tour with good salary and expenses if BROWDER would expose "treasonable tie-up between American Communist Party and Stalin government in Moscow."

b7D

Confidential Informant [T2] learned on June 19, 1946 that WILLIAM E. BROWDER had stated that EARL and he had prepared a resume of EARL BROWDER's case and that they were intending to print 1,000 copies of this for distribution. However, mechanical difficulty in the reproduction of the summary had delayed its issuance but it was stated it would be available for distribution in the near future.

SECRET

SECRET

4. Appraisal of Party Under FOSTER's Leadership

Confidential Informant T2 also reported on January 18, 1946 that BROWDER had deplored the fact that he did not seize the opportunity fifteen years ago to remove FOSTER from his high position in the movement. He gave the impression that it was through his planning that FOSTER had risen to the high processes of the Party and that his present position was due to a mistake by BROWDER in tutoring him.

In June 1946 WILLIAM BROWDER, according to Confidential Informant T2, commented on subject's history with the Party. At that time he stated that TRACHTENBERG, WEINER, DENNIS and FOSTER had been responsible for EARL's ouster; that they had apparently gotten their idea originally of ousting EARL BROWDER from the powerful position he held when BROWDER was in jail for a passport violation. It appears, however, that while plans were being considered for BROWDER's ouster while he was incarcerated, it was apparent that the affairs of the Communist Party had reached a rather chaotic state and when BROWDER was eventually released from prison he immediately took issue with the then leaders for their negligence and carelessness in running the Party and took steps to correct the errors they had made. Apparently, this thwarted their efforts and it was not until recent date that they were able to make their plans which eventually led to both EARL's and WILLIAM's dismissal from the Party. (WILLIAM was expelled from the Greenwich Village Club of which he was president, and this decision was upheld by the National Review Commission which published its statement in the Daily Worker of April 14, 1946).

WILLIAM BROWDER also remarked that since the release of the favorable publicity concerning BROWDER's reception in Moscow (see Section III of this report), the high Communist functionaries realized that they have no future in the Party and were "grabbing everything in sight so that if EARL takes over they can abscond." WILLIAM BROWDER noted that a great number of people that had been in the fringe of the Party were making overtures to him and apparently were trying to get in the good graces of both himself and particularly EARL BROWDER. Among these, WILLIAM BROWDER specifically mentioned SAM DON, whom he characterized as a former "big shot" on the Daily Worker who had recently been known, WILLIAM BROWDER observed, to make some particularly favorable remarks concerning EARL BROWDER's capabilities.

As to EARL BROWDER himself and his attitude towards the Party, Confidential Informant T2 reported on December 18, 1945 that BROWDER had stated that he has had at that time absolutely no connection with any Communists and expressed his bitter feeling towards the present functionaries. He remarked that they were spending money altogether too freely and were apparently dissipating the backlog of funds that had been built up during his ten years as an active functionary in the Party. He noted that there

SECRET

had been a 50% drop in the total membership and he viewed this trend as being an additional source of trouble for FOSTER and the other leaders as it would have the result of not only decreasing the income but of restricting the activities of the Party as well. In commenting on the inefficiency of the present leaders, BROWDER is reported to have remarked that these individuals had attempted to convey the idea that his expulsion from the Party was at the insistence of "Uncle JOE" (JOSEF STALIN), but BROWDER declared this was untrue. He emphasized that he had never been able to locate in any Communist Party publication any denouncement of himself or any articles that were critical of the manner in which he held the affairs of the Party while he was the acting functionary.

RUTH FISCHER in her May 1, 1946 issue (V. 1, No. 3) of the "Russian State Party", wrote on the subject "BROWDER Wants To See Stalin", in which she discussed briefly the American Party position. She said:

" The American Communists have had considerable trouble since the expulsion of their former boss; they received the impossible assignment from Moscow - to indoctrinate Americans with the Russian expansionist policy and to persuade millions of American workers that the Russian empire should be defended by them tooth and nail. In fulfilling this assignment the membership has to be trained in resistance, sabotage, and terroristic acts for the case of emergency. The FOSTER group has become visibly unstable, vague, sectarian and dogmatic. The Party now claims a gain of 6,000 new members in the recent drive but they are silent about their losses which are heavy.

" Thus strengthened by inside reports of the bad results of the FOSTER policy, BROWDER has appealed to Stalin and got a hearing. FOSTER and the American central committee has neither been informed or consulted on the trip. However, American Communist affairs are only the pretext for the trip. BROWDER has received a permit to go abroad because his request was supported by Stalin, who seized the opportunity of getting an intimate report on the temper of the American people from one of his former associates.

" The State Department has authorized the trip because they were hoping to get an inside report of Stalin's intentions and more information concerning the divergent policies of Stalin and expansionists. Stalin, in carrying out the decisions of the Politburo, has regained control of domestic affairs in the last months; if he gets his man BROWDER back in the Communist and fellow traveller Milieu - it would not necessarily mean a re-establishment of BROWDER's leadership in the Party - it would open the door more widely for an alternate Russian policy towards the U.S.A. Stalin, as well as the Vishinskys, want above all to postpone as long as possible the unavoidable conflict with 'imperialist America'. They differ only on methods. 'Browderism' was Stalin's policy towards Roosevelt America - the tentative delineation

SECRET

"of spheres of influence between Big Two to the detriment of the British Empire ... The conflict between the Big Two has already assumed such proportions that it has outgrown diplomatic control ... BROWDER's trip is to see the internal difficulties of the Russian hierarchy. However, Stalin cannot stop the drive of the Russian State Party expansionists who find themselves caught in their own trap of expanding totalitarian movements."

With respect to the comparative popularity of BROWDER and FOSTER, informants of the New York Field Division have noted that FOSTER in his public appearances does not receive the same degree of applause that has been accorded to BROWDER in his past appearances. The informants feel that FOSTER does not enjoy the popularity of BROWDER.

## II BROWDER'S VENTURE INTO BUSINESS - THE DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE

### 1. Formation and Purposes

An examination of the corporation records for 1945 (Index #9774) maintained in the office of the Clerk of the County of New York State, Supreme Court Building, 60 Centre Street, New York City, revealed that the Distributors Guide, Inc. was formed under the provisions of Article II of the Corporation Law of New York on November 5, 1945 and the articles of incorporation executed on that date were filed for record with the Department of State of the State of New York, at Albany. The articles in Section 5 fixed the number of directors who "need not be stockholders" as three and specified the total number of shares which the corporation might issue would be 200, all of which were to be shares of common stock of the same class without par value. The articles did not name the BROWDERS or indicate that any of the presently known officers connected with Distributors Guide had subscribed to any shares of stock in the corporation.

The eighth section of the articles indicated that the subscribers of the certificate of corporation and "the number of shares of stock each agreed to take are as follows: ELEANORE ROSS - 1; DOROTHY K. RAUSCHER - 1; SIDNEY KOCIN - 1." SIDNEY KOCIN is the attorney who drew the document and all of these parties had the address 285 Madison Avenue, New York City. These individuals are not known to the New York Field Division and whether they have any direct connection with the BROWDERS has not been learned. The articles of incorporation set out the purposes for which the corporation was formed and these are briefly quoted below:

- (A) To carry on the business of exporters and importers ... buying, selling, trading or dealing in ... all kinds of goods, wares, commodities and merchandise; to make surveys of markets of every kind and description throughout the world.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

- (B) Generally to conduct a general brokerage ... business ...
- (C) To do a manufacturing business ... in ... all kinds of manufactured and unmanufactured products.
- (D) To carry on the business of printers, proprietors and publishers ... to carry on the business of news agents, journalists and news analysts, advertising agents ... and engage generally in the business of job and book bindings publishers and book printers.
- (E) To purchase or otherwise acquire ... real and personal property of every class and description ...
- (F) To purchase ... acquire, reissue, and otherwise dispose of ... shares of capital stock, bonds and other securities of this corporation.
- (G) To purchase or otherwise acquire ... shares of capital stock ... or other evidences of indebtedness created by any other corporation.
- (H) To apply for ... hold ... use ... any trade marks ... of the United States or of any foreign country ...
- (I) To acquire the good will, business, property and assets ... of any person, firm, association or corporation engaged in the same or a similar business.
- (J) To lend ... money or credit to such persons, firms or corporations ... as the Directors of the corporation may deem advisable ...
- (K) To guarantee the payment of dividends ... whenever proper or necessary for the business of the corporation in the judgment of its directors.
- (L) To borrow money ... and to secure the same by a mortgage, pledge or otherwise.
- (M) To conduct its business and have one or more offices and unlimitedly ... purchase ... convey real and personal property in or out of this state and any such places in the several states and territories of the United States.
- (N) To enter into, make, perform and carry out the contracts of all sorts and kind necessary to the corporate business ...
- (O) ... To do all and everything necessary, suitable, convenient or proper for the accomplishment of any of the purposes ...

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Previous mention has been made of the revelation by the World Telegram in its February 8, 1946 edition of the fact that BROWDER had sought to visit Russia. In this account the possibility was expressed that BROWDER had sought to become an official trade representative of the Soviet Union in America, for his Distributors Guide under its incorporation had broad powers to act as "principal, factors, agents or commercial merchants" and to carry on the business of exporters and importers.

## 2. Economic Analyses, Distributors Guide

4  
CPE  
The first issue of Distributors Guide was prepared and distributed from the headquarters of the Guide, Room 702-3, 55 W. 42nd Street, New York 18, New York, on January 5, 1946. The Guide, a mimeographed bulletin, was issued regularly each week until No. 15, April 27, 1946, when, following EARL BROWDER's departure for Russia, it was temporarily suspended pending his return to the United States. Confidential Informant T2 reported on January 18, 1946 that BROWDER, in commenting on the sales promotion methods Distributors Guide would employ, stated that it was extremely difficult for him to place his publication before the public because the newsstands were barred to him. Therefore, he had to rely on personal contacts. He thought businessmen would be genuinely interested in the publication as a valuable business advisory service. The subscription price for the weekly "Economic Analyses" was \$100 for a one-year subscription.

The Herald Tribune of January 16, 1946 in reporting the organization of the Guide, stated that the BROWDERS propose to give "an information service to subscribers in mercantile and industrial field." The New York Times of January 16, 1946 reported that the BROWDERS had "gone into business as advisors to retailers", and the World Telegram of February 14, 1946 mentioned in connection with its report of the formal ouster of BROWDER by the Communist Party that "Mr. BROWDER's Guide, intended for business subscribers, plays up the advantages of making loans to and trading with the Soviet Union."

The February 19, 1946 issue of the weekly New Masses published an article on "the case of EARL BROWDER" by its editors. They wrote, "Recently reports have appeared in the commercial press that BROWDER had gone into business, had set up an agency to provide economic analysis for businessmen and was publishing a weekly trade paper called Distributors Guide. We have seen several copies of this publication. It is the most curious 'trade paper' that has ever come our way. Each issue consists of one or more articles by EARL BROWDER on such subjects as American imperialism, President Truman's Message on the state of the Union, the strike situation, the struggle in China, the ousting of DeGaulle, etc. These are political articles. All are a defense and elaboration of BROWDER's anti-Marxist theories ... they contain attacks on the Communists who are usually lumped

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

"with the reactionaries in such phrases as 'cynics' of both right and left. It is clear that this so-called trade paper is a fraud. The real business BROWDER is engaged in is the publication of factional political propaganda directed against the program of the Communist Party in serving the interests of American imperialism."

It has not been determined how many subscriptions Distributors Guide has on its books. It is indicated in the "Appeal of EARL BROWDER To The National Committee, CP, USA!" in item 8 of the February 8, 1946 statement to the National Committee that his total distribution might be 200 copies as he wrote, "The stupid charge that I have become an adviser to Big Business by editing a mimeographed bulletin in 200 copies called 'Distributors Guide', circulated exclusively in circles long allies of ours is a typical example of hysteria."

On April 29, 1946 a mimeographed letter over the signature of WILLIAM E. BROWDER as secretary-treasurer was mailed to the subscribers to advise them that "Our editor, Mr. EARL BROWDER, is in Europe and will be there for the next few weeks engaged in a study of the European economic conditions. We hope to receive reports from him for the Guide, by air mail, from time to time but, due to uncertainties of mail deliveries, this will probably be irregular. As fast as any material is received, we will pass it along to you. In any event, your subscription will extend to the full number of 52 issues. We believe that any delays that occur at this time will be more than compensated for by the quality of the material that comes through."

As will be explained more fully in sub-section 4 of this section, the Distributors Guide appears to be in dire financial need. During EARL BROWDER's absence on his trip to the Soviet Union, April 26-June 26, 1946, no issue of the Guide has made its appearance other than the April 27th edition, a copy of which had been prepared prior to BROWDER's departure.

### 3. Officers and Associated Personnel

#### (1) Editor

Issue No. 8 of Volume No. 1 of the bulletin Distributors Guide, which was distributed on March 2, 1946, carried EARL BROWDER's name as editor of the mimeographed publication in its masthead. The previous issues which carried BROWDER's name as signature to the various articles did not supply a descriptive title and until the issuance of issue No. 8, BROWDER's exact connection with Distributors Guide, Inc. was not known. The April 27, 1946 issue, the last to make its appearance up to June 26, 1946, continued the title of editor under BROWDER's name, and in two instances, president. The first issue of the Guide, January 5, 1946, listed HYMAN GOLDBERG as president.

SECRET

(2) President

Confidential Informant T11 identified GOLDBERG as a HYMAN GOLDBERG, who resided at 78 Main Street, Hackensack, New Jersey. Informant stated that GOLDBERG was believed to be in the candy and tobacco business in Hackensack. He did not know, however, the extent of GOLDBERG's interest in the corporation nor did he know otherwise of his connection therewith.

GOLDBERG, according to Confidential Informant T12, was born in Lubar, Russia on July 24, 1898. He received his private school education in Russia, came to the United States in 1908 as CHAIM GUBELSKI, and was naturalized in New York City on June 15, 1915. Informant stated that GOLDBERG had been in the laundry business for about sixteen years and then became a member of the G. & G. Tobacco and Candy Company, which had a branch in Hackensack, New Jersey. This concern was dissolved in 1928 and GOLDBERG acquired the Hackensack business which he operated alone until the incorporation of the Bergen County Tobacco & Candy Co., Inc., under New Jersey law in January 1934. MAX GENZELOFF was president when the corporation was originally organized but he sold his interest to GOLDBERG on March 1, 1936. GOLDBERG became President and Treasurer and his wife, ESTHER W. GOLDBERG, Secretary of the Bergen County Tobacco & Candy Co., Inc., and these two comprise the board of directors. The corporation, which has an authorized capital of 100 shares of no par value stock, rents space at 78 Main Street, Hackensack, and also has a branch store at 530 Main Street, Hackensack, which quarters are also rented. Informant advised that the net sales for the calendar year 1944 (most recent available) amounted to \$793,112.80, from which were realized a net profit of \$3,725.12. The surplus and undivided profits at December 31, 1944, had accumulated to a total of \$23,216.84.

Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau, advised in March 1944 that GOLDBERG was a member of the Communist Party in Bergen County, New Jersey, and his wife served as an organizer for the Communist Party in New York City. T12 identified GOLDBERG's wife as ESTHER WEISSBERG GOLDBERG, who was born May 28, 1898 in Nিকেleiv, Russia, and naturalized in New York City in 1932.

b7D

Mrs. GOLDBERG, Confidential Informant T13, learned on March 15, 1946, is a member of the Chelsea Section of the Communist Party in New York. Informant stated that on this date, Mrs. GOLDBERG had a conference with AL WARREN of this club, at which time she was told that there was a proposal before the club for her expulsion from the Party. Informant did not learn the basis for such proceedings but Mrs. GOLDBERG told WARREN, informant stated, that she had been in the Party for over 20 years and that she had learned a great deal in the past 8 months. It is apparent that Mrs. GOLDBERG is being removed from the Party ranks by virtue of her support of EARL BROWDER and his policies.

SECRET



SAX

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, manager of International Publishers, Inc., and THEODORE BAYER, managing editor of Soviet Russia Today, conferred as reported by Confidential Informant TL4 on March 7, 1946. These men discussed the EARL BROWDER matter, and particularly his venture into the publishing field. BAYER inquired as to who the backers of the enterprise were. TRACHTENBERG understood there were several, but that he knew of only one, an individual named GOLDBERG who is a commission merchant from Hackensack, New Jersey. He did not know the extent of the support that GOLDBERG was giving to Distributors Guide. GOLDBERG has already been identified as the president and treasurer of the Bergen County Tobacco and Candy Company in Hackensack.

(3) Vice President

In the conference of TRACHTENBERG and BAYER on March 7, 1946 mentioned in the previous paragraph, Confidential Informant TL4 also reported that TRACHTENBERG had informed BAYER that ABRAHAM A. HELLER, president of International Publishers, Inc. had resigned this post and his position as treasurer of the Jefferson School and had broken with the Party over the treatment of BROWDER. TRACHTENBERG made the inference that HELLER was probably also one of the backers of Distributors Guide. It was learned that HELLER had departed on June 7, 1946 by air for Moscow to join EARL BROWDER there, the passport having been issued to him on May 29, 1946 for France, England, Sweden and the U.S.S.R. Issuance of the passport had been urged by a letter from the Distributors Guide, Inc., according to Confidential Informant TL5, which indicated that HELLER was a vice president of Distributors Guide.

The files of this office reflect that HELLER was born on September 8, 1874 in Moscow; came to the United States on August 1, 1891, and was naturalized as a United States citizen on July 29, 1897. He is known to have been a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party.

FREDERICK WOLTMAN in the World Telegram of March 11, 1946, in an article entitled "BROWDER Exit Costs Reds a Rich Angel", wrote, "Because it gave EARL BROWDER the heave-ho, the Communist Party has just lost its cushiest financial agent, ABRAHAM A. HELLER, who poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into Red causes, since he became widely known as the millionaire Bolshevik, twenty-seven years ago .... A wealthy retired business man and avid Communist, Mr. HELLER resigned as Party member, president of International Publishers, the Party's publishing firm, and treasurer of the Jefferson School of Social Science, its center for turning out Marxists, young and old .... Except for EARL BROWDER's brother, WILLIAM, who had been national treasurer, Mr. HELLER was the only Communist of any prominence to stand by the expelled chief of the American movement.... In 1919 Mr. HELLER announced himself as purchasing agent for the Soviets. He helped finance the first convention of the Communist Party in 1931.

~~SECRET~~

"He organized International Publishers in 1924 on a decree of the Comintern and by 1939 had sunk \$115,000 into this project alone, according to testimony of his general manager, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG... he took part in underwriting the Jefferson School (whose) faculty voted last June to support the Party's resolution condemning Mr. BROWDER." During the week preceding EARL BROWDER's departure for Russia, ABRAHAM H. HELLER was known by agents of this office to have spent some time at the offices of Distributors Guide, 55 W. 42nd Street.

(4) Secretary-Treasurer

Confidential Informant [T] advised that WILLIAM E. BROWDER was secretary-treasurer of Distributors Guide, as obtained from documents filed with the building management, which further reflected that the Distributors Guide had occupied the rooms 702-3 since November 15, 1945 with annual rental of \$1,098, being guaranteed by HYMAN GOLDBERG.

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER, 38 W. 9th Street, New York City, brother of EARL R. BROWDER, was born in Wichita, Kansas on July 31, 1895, according to the biographical data in the files of the New York Field Division. He was employed as a statistical clerk in various institutions in Kansas City from 1914 to 1929. He was sentenced to the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas on July 14, 1919 with his brothers, EARL and RALPH, and brother-in-law, THOMAS R. SULLIVAN, for violation of the draft laws. He was paroled on November 5, 1920. He became a member of the Communist Party in 1923 and as recently as August 1944 held membership in the Greenwich Village Club, then of the Communist Political Association, and had served this club as its chairman. From 1929 to 1933 he was secretary of the Workers International Relief, and organizer and district secretary of the International Labor Defense. In 1932 he was candidate for United States Senator on the Communist Party ticket in Illinois. He was leader of the John Reed Club which was engaged in revolutionary activities in propaganda, agitation and organizational work. He was founder and incorporator of the allegedly Communist organ New Masses (originally Weekly Masses). WILLIAM BROWDER was former New York State financial secretary of the Communist Party, president of the Comprodaily Publishing Company of the Daily Worker, and in 1944, as WILLIAM E. BRANCH, he was business manager of this publication. The Statement of Ownership, executed October 1, 1945, indicated that he, as WILLIAM E. BROWDER, continued as business manager of the Daily Worker, which is reliably viewed as an official Party publication. On September 8, 1931 MARGARET BROWDER, a sister, executed a passport application in the name of JEAN MONTGOMERY. An affidavit submitted with this application in the name of WILLIAM MONTGOMERY was found to have been signed by WILLIAM BROWDER. Incidentally, MARGARET BROWDER, as mentioned in General KRIVITSKY's book, "In Stalin's Secret Service", was employed by the Soviet Military Intelligence Service and worked under KRIVITSKY in 1937. BROWDER made a passport application in the name of GEORGE ROSS on July 29, 1935 and again on January 23, 1937, but in his own name.

~~SECRET~~

The New York Herald Tribune, edition of January 16, 1946, in a newspaper account of the opening of the office of Distributors Guide stated that WILLIAM E. BROWDER "has held no official position with the Communist organization for the last two years, although he said he still retained his party membership."

WILLIAM BROWDER became president of the Greenwich Village Club in January 1945. As has been earlier indicated, he was removed from this position, was dismissed from his position as business manager of the Daily Worker in December 1945, and was finally expelled from the Party for "conduct or action detrimental to the working class in the nation, as well as to the interests of the Party" (pursuant to Article 9, Section 1, of the constitution of the Communist Party). As has been reported, the National Review Commission of the Party announced its review and findings of the Greenwich Village Club decision in the Worker of April 14, 1946. WILLIAM BROWDER resides at 38-40 W. 9th Street, New York City, and listed to this address is a special unlisted telephone number of WILLIAM E. BROWDER's under the alias WILLIAM E. BRANCH.

(5) Associated Personnel

Confidential Informant T11 reported that an unknown man and woman were working in the offices of Distributors Guide with WILLIAM E. BROWDER. It was ascertained that the Meadow's Bookkeeping and Income Tax Service, which had offices in room 312-C, 55 W. 42nd Street, had moved on December 15, 1945 to share the offices with the Distributors Guide. It was further learned that the Meadow's Bookkeeping and Income Tax Service was operated by a Mrs. ANN MEADOWS of 162 W. 48th Street, New York City, and that on July 10, 1945 RALPH W. BROWDER became associated with her in that service. ANN MEADOWS in 1943 was proprietor of the Actors Thrift Shop, 164 W. 58th Street, New York City. She was known to have served on the Credentials Committee of the convention of the New York County Communist Party held in New York City June 13, 1943, and on March 24, 1944 a Miss MEADOWS, possibly identical with this individual, conferred with DAVID GOLDWAY, educational director of the New York State Communist Party. It appears that ANN MEADOWS may be identical with the BROWDERs' sister, MARGARET, who, according to General WALTER KRIVITSKY, as mentioned in his book "In Stalin's Secret Service", served in the Soviet Military Intelligence.

Confidential Informant T2 on June 10, 1946 advised that WILLIAM BROWDER had mentioned his sister, stating that her nerves were still cracked as a result of her work and experiences in Europe. He said that for a period of three months when she was working on the other side she had had practically no rest and on occasions it was necessary for her to operate for 72 hours without getting any sleep, and that as a result of this and the trouble she had because of the Trotskyites it was necessary for her to withdraw from such activity. BROWDER observed that

SECRET

apparently "they" had a five-year limitation on women operatives. According to WILLIAM BROWDER, MARGARET still suffers from mental strain as a result of her work for the Russians, and as a consequence cannot pursue her present work energetically for any length of time without "cracking up".

RALPH WALDO BROWDER, the oldest of the three BROWDER brothers, was born in Medicine Lodge, Kansas on April 3, 1888. He resided for many years in Independence, Missouri, where he worked as an auditor and solicitor. He left there in May 1941 to go to New York reportedly, according to information in the possession of this office, to look after the interests of his brother EARL and to handle various duties for the Communist Party. As reported in the biographical sketch of WILLIAM E. BROWDER, he too served a term in Leavenworth on a charge of conspiracy to violate the draft laws from July 14, 1919 until his parole on November 2, 1920. In 1942 he was known to have been employed as a bookkeeper by the Workers Colony Corporation, allegedly a Communist organized apartment development in the Bronx, New York, and also acted in a part time capacity as an auditor with MORRIS A. GREENBAUM, Certified Public Accountant, who reportedly audits the Communist Party and its front organization accounts and records.

RALPH BROWDER, who resides at 85 Highland Avenue, Yonkers, was known to be a member of the Yonkers Communist Political Association Community Club and on June 6, 1945, the Daily Worker reprinted a letter from him to its editor in which he described himself as a member of the Legislative Committee, Yonkers Club, Communist Political Association.

#### 4. Financial Support For Distributors Guide

Confidential Informant T2 learned on January 18, 1946 that EARL BROWDER had disclosed that six "angels" whom he did not name or otherwise identify were each contributing to the Distributors Guide \$100 monthly under an arrangement which would continue until such time as the income from the subscriptions to the Guide would bring in sufficient revenue to put the business on a self-sustaining basis. It is known that Distributors Guide maintains a checking account at the Amalgamated Bank and Trust Company, Union Square, New York City. No further information with respect to the details of such support has been determined. In view of HELIER's position as vice president of the Distributors Guide and the fact that he is reputed to be wealthy, it would appear that HELIER may be one of the six "angels" aiding financially in the conduct and affairs of the enterprise.

It was learned on June 7, 1946 through Confidential Informant T2 that WILLIAM E. BROWDER had stated that the Distributors Guide had found itself in difficult financial circumstances and a \$200 loan had been sought from Colonel JOHN H. REYNOLDS of the United States Service and Shipping Corporation through ELIZABETH T. BENTLEY of World Tourist, acting

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

as an intermediary. Informant stated that this sum was paid to BROWDER on June 10, 1946 and subsequently WILLIAM requested, through these channels, another loan of \$200, explaining that the money was to be used for interim expenses as the Distributors Guide had rent and some salaries to pay. He disclosed that his sister (MARGARET BROWDER) was only doing part time work for the Guide at the present time. REYNOLDS, informant stated, was agreeable to the second loan of \$200 and it was believed the money would be paid to BROWDER on June 24, 1946, but on June 19, 1946 BROWDER entered negotiations for a third loan, this time in the sum of \$500, and informant further learned that REYNOLDS was also agreeable to the granting of this sum to Distributors Guide.

### III JOURNEY TO MOSCOW, April 26, 1946

#### 1. Plans for Visit to U.S.S.R.

As has been reported earlier in this report, the World Telegram of February 7, 1946 stated that it had learned that BROWDER was attempting to go to the Soviet Union and that the National Board, after it had recommended to the National Committee his expulsion from the Party on February 5, 1946, learned that BROWDER had applied through the State Department for a passport to Europe. The World Telegram speculated that BROWDER might seek to become an official trade representative of the Soviet Union in America.

Following the granting of the passport to BROWDER by the State Department, a surveillance was maintained on the subject over the period April 10 to April 26, 1946. During this period it was learned that HELLER had spent the afternoons of April 16, 17, 23 and 25, 1946 with BROWDER at the Distributors Guide offices. On April 22 and 23, 1946 the subject visited the offices of the Consulate General of Ireland, Room 4016-19, Chrysler Building, and on April 22 also visited the Swedish Consulate, 630 5th Avenue. He revisited the Swedish Consul General on April 24 and April 25, 1946. On April 25 he called at the offices of the British Passport and Visa Control, Room 3506, 630 5th Avenue. It was learned that he was interested in obtaining from the Thomas Cook & Son Travel Service \$500 in traveller's checks to be used in Sweden and the Soviet Union, but was told that such checks while acceptable in Sweden would not be honored in the Soviet Union. BROWDER, therefore, did not secure such checks.

On the evening of April 25, 1946 BROWDER had dinner with ELIZABETH BENTLEY of World Tourist and Colonel JOHN H. REYNOLDS of the United States Service and Shipping Corporation, in the latter's home, 825 5th Avenue, New York City. It was learned at this time, according to

~~SECRET~~

Confidential Informant T2, that BROWDER proposed to fly to Europe and by giving a friend of his \$50 he was able to get reservation #1 on the April 26, 1946 American Overseas Airlines flight to Stockholm. As an alternative, if he was not successful in making this flight, he would secure a definite reservation on a Swedish ship leaving the Port of New York on April 29, 1946. BROWDER stated also that on April 23, 1946 he arranged to borrow money from a friend but he learned that FOSTER had found out about this loan and FOSTER took steps to induce this individual not to make it. He reported that FOSTER and DENNIS had learned of his contemplated trip and as a matter of fact, some of FOSTER's men had tapped his telephone and were making an effort to determine BROWDER's whereabouts and activities. BROWDER felt that he could accomplish his purpose in going to the Soviet Union within four weeks but that it might take him longer.

Informant was of the opinion that BROWDER's prime purpose in visiting Moscow was to contact the top policy makers of the U.S.S.R. in order to sell them on the idea of changing the Communist Party line in the United States from its present policy to one comparable to the Party line and policies in effect during BROWDER's administration of Party affairs during World War II. BROWDER is reported to have stated that he was certain that some of the top-ranking policy makers in Russia were in accord with his views in these matters and felt that some were thoroughly disgusted with the manner in which the Party is being run in the United States by FOSTER and DENNIS. Accordingly, he had hopes that he would experience little difficulty in getting them to see his position if he was successful in his efforts to contact them.

BROWDER declared that it had been eight years since he had actually conferred with top-ranking officials of the U.S.S.R., although he had been accused by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and many others of being in direct contact with Moscow and receiving orders for maintaining or changing the Communist Party line in the United States. Approximately six years ago, he remarked, he heard indirectly from a high Communist functionary in Moscow that the U.S.S.R. was well pleased with the manner in which he was operating the Communist Party in the United States and was in accord with all the policy changes which he had made during the time he was in control and direction of the American organization.

BROWDER expressed the belief that if the Communist Party was conducted along the lines he had formulated, that the Party would be looked upon more favorably in the United States and that it would make for a more peaceful outlook between the United States and the U.S.S.R. He said it would also promote trade and would work to the benefit of both countries. He then confided, according to informant, the information that there were certain people in high government places in the United States such as Secretary WALLACE and ELMSFORD of the Department of Commerce who shared the same view that if the Communist Party was operated under the

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

policies set forth by BROWDER during his regime, it could do much to bring about better relations between the Russian government and the government of the United States. BROWDER pointed out that if he was successful in establishing his contacts in Moscow, the Russian Communists could not, of course, openly back BROWDER and therefore he would be left to his own ingenuity in supplanting both the personnel and policies of the old regime. If this became an eventuality, FOSTER and DENNIS would definitely fight him, and he estimated that it would probably take him as much as two years to oust the present Communist Party leadership. He felt that in this time he could accomplish a complete revision of the personnel and a complete change in the policies of the Party.

Informant learned that Colonel REYNOLDS furnished BROWDER with \$250 to assist him in meeting his expenses on this trip, before BROWDER had indicated that he was in desperate financial straits and would leave a lot of unpaid bills when he departed for Russia. REYNOLDS volunteered to take care of these bills for BROWDER and made the suggestion that when these bills came due, WILLIAM BROWDER could contact Miss BENTLEY who in turn could secure the money from REYNOLDS to transfer to WILLIAM BROWDER.

Informant reported that BROWDER stated that although his principal task in Russia would be to see the head policy makers, he would on behalf of the United States Service and Shipping Corporation attempt to do some things for them. It was learned that both REYNOLDS and BENTLEY were principally desirous of having the duty on packages shipped to Russia reduced and if he could effect a compromise in this respect it would greatly facilitate the advancement of their business and, of course, would enable them to profit to a greater extent thereby.

## 2. Departure Via American Overseas Airlines

BROWDER departed at 10:40 a.m. EST, April 26, 1946 via American Overseas Airlines, destined for Stockholm, Sweden, having in his possession transit visas for Ireland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia. The plane made non-passenger stops at Gander, Newfoundland, Shannon, Ireland, and passenger stops at Copenhagen, Denmark, Oslo, Norway and Stockholm, Sweden, which destination it was scheduled to reach at 4:50 p.m., London Zone Time, on April 27, 1946.

BROWDER was driven to the airport on the morning of April 26, 1946 by his brother, WILLIAM in the automobile of HYMAN GOLDBERG of Hackensack, New Jersey. He was accompanied to the airport in this vehicle by his wife and WILLIAM BERKE, the former Communist Party headquarters employee who, as Confidential Informant [redacted] advised as has been earlier

b7D

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

mentioned in this report, was dismissed from this position when it was learned that he had supplied to WILLIAM BROWDER the Daily Worker and Worker mailing lists which were used by the BROWDERS in sending out subject's appeal.

Confidential Informant ~~FL6~~ <sup>JP4</sup> reported that Mrs. ~~BROWDER~~ on the evening of her husband's departure advised a friend named JOSEPHINE that BROWDER had not secured a British visa but that he did not need one. She termed his mission to Europe a very important one.

Informant on April 27, 1946 learned that BROWDER had arrived in Stockholm six hours late and that while he had been met by the press, he refused to make any comments. The Daily Worker of April 27, 1946 contained an article entitled "BROWDER Leaves for Stockholm to Extend Anti-Party Intrigue". In this account it was stated that EUGENE DENNIS, a member of the Secretariat, had declared in February at a meeting of the National Committee of the Party, with reference to the disclosure that BROWDER had applied for a passport, that "This act by BROWDER is calculated, for one thing, to create confusion and uncertainty in the ranks of the Party. But, whatever its intent, this action is in effect a provocation. To the outside world the very act of BROWDER's application for a passport implies that our Party has some sort of mysterious character and connection with other Communist parties in other lands; that somewhere or other there may be a Communist 'supreme court' to which appeals could be made."

The Daily Worker stated further, "The fact that Stockholm was BROWDER's destination recalled that the Swedish capitol has long been favored as a vantage point by anti-working class intriguers because of its strategic location and social democratic and anti-Soviet atmosphere. ... It appeared that the purpose of BROWDER's trip was to seek connections abroad and attempt to create an international center through which to spread his activity against the Communist Party and their Marxist position."

The Worker of Sunday, April 28, 1946 commented editorially on "The Voyage of EARL BROWDER", quoting the New York Times which stated in substance that the projected visit of BROWDER's had given rise to speculation that the "invitation" must have been issued by the Soviet Government ... and that he would bring back with him a new 'party line'..." The editorial writer stated, "It is quite clear from this choice tidbit that the commercial press understands very clearly the conspiratorial motives of the BROWDER trip and knows quite well how to collaborate with BROWDER in his activities. For the essence of the BROWDER trip is that it is one in a line of provocation intended to re-enforce the typically reactionary falsehood that the American Communist Party has organizational connections abroad. It is intended to imply that the decisions of the American Communist Party are not based on an estimate of the social, political

~~SECRET~~



"and peace conditions in the United States, on the needs of the American working class and its progressive allies, but rather on some 'line' handed down from abroad."

JAMES A. WECHSLER of the Washington Bureau of the newspaper "PM", writing in the April 29, 1946 issue of the paper, stated "While the journey of the ex-Communist leader has created a furor in left wing ranks, key officials familiar with foreign policy developments believe the importance of BROWDER's trip may transcend local and esoteric factional quarrels. Two principles are advanced for this belief: Prior to his ouster as Communist chieftain, BROWDER was supreme advocate of the theory that the capitalist U.S.A. could live in peace and harmony with the U.S.S.R. in the post-war world; that even United States conservative industrial interests were prepared to do amicable business with the Soviet Union; and that class and international struggles could be avoided in the prosperous times to come. Those were essentially the issues on which he lost his job after JACQUES DUCLOS, French Communist leader, opened fire on BROWDER's doctrine as a 'betrayal of Marxism-Leninism'. Almost simultaneously with the disclosure that BROWDER was taking off for Europe and heading for Moscow, State Department sources have reported serious signs indicating increased Soviet desire to cement relations with the U.S.A. ... Some officials interpret these conciliatory moves as primarily designed to stem the drift toward an Anglo-United States bloc... The stage is set for BROWDER's entrance into Moscow with a plea for reversal of the proceedings which led to his expulsion from the United States in February."

400 On April 29, 1946 Mrs. EARL BROWDER, according to Confidential Informant T16, discussed her husband's trip with an individual named FLORENCE, whose identity is not presently known. She stated EARL took with him an article in the Communist publication "Political Affairs", but she did not enlarge upon this. She said that it was very important that he go to Russia and that the Communist Party had become very upset about it. She felt the Party was trying to take "the thing out of uncle's hands" (possibly Stalin's) and were taking the wrong stand on Italy. She said the management of the Party was getting worse; that she felt that the worse it got the better it would be for them; that the Party was making trouble but they hoped that by doing so they would be in a position to find out who was directly responsible and later rid the Party of such people. She observed that the Party was becoming too independent.

WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS devoted his column in the World Telegram of April 30, 1946 to a discussion of "BROWDER's mission". He concluded his remarks as follows: "Now, BROWDER is again on his way to Moscow. He says he is going 'to study political life' and the followers of FOSTER - back in the post from which BROWDER was recently fired - are seething; having made a party pariah of BROWDER for what they alleged were deviations

**SECRET**

"during war, they are wondering what possible business he could now have in Moscow, but BROWDER could not go to Moscow unless the Kremlin wanted him there. What his real mission is, of course, remains to be seen. Maybe the generalissimo does not agree that he 'deviated' during the war. Maybe the Red chieftain wants to 'study political life' in the Americas through BROWDER's eyes. Maybe Moscow believes the predicted 'revolutionary crisis in America' is now at hand and with it the moment for American Communists to do their 'historic' job, which, according to Mr. Stalin, is to be the spearhead for 'the end of world capitalism as a whole'."

The Daily Worker of May 1, 1946 asserted in a news item that "The Communists in Sweden shunned EARL BROWDER ... during his stay in Stockholm, the United Press reported yesterday. It quoted editor Ragnay Edberg of the Communist Party newspaper 'Ny Dag' as saying 'I only know about BROWDER what I read in the papers.' It reported that Edberg and Sven Linderot, Communist Party leader, had said that they did not plan to see BROWDER." The Daily Worker, basing its information on the United Press report, declared that BROWDER had checked out of his Stockholm hotel stating that he was boarding a steamship for Finland. This issue of the Daily Worker also reported the information revealed by Acting Secretary of State Acheson who, at a news conference on April 30, 1946, revealed that BROWDER had requested a passport to "visit several countries for commercial reasons in connection with a new company he has formed."

The World Telegram of May 1, 1946 in a news item captioned "Amtorg Circular Casts Pall on BROWDER Mission", reported "In an obvious repudiation of EARL BROWDER ... Amtorg, the official Russian trade agency in this country, is warning businessmen against dealing with 'any individuals or organizations ... who represent themselves as having some special influence' in promoting Soviet-American trade relations ... The Amtorg warning was sent out by the American Russian Chamber of Commerce last Friday, the day Mr. BROWDER flew for Russia via Sweden." It stated that Mr. M. M. GOUSEV, president and board chairman of Amtorg, had urged that the "utmost care be taken to investigate the authority of anyone attempting to further trade relations with Russia 'through the use of influence or so-called promotional activities'. Caught off base by Mr. BROWDER's sudden departure abroad, the Communist Party here has charged its former head with the plan of setting up conspiratorial centers in Europe to combat Communism."

The New York Times of May 6, 1946 reported a UP dispatch of May 5, 1946 from Helsinki, Finland which stated that Finnish State Police had disclosed that BROWDER had boarded the train for Leningrad Friday morning (May 3, 1946) at the Vainikkala Station after having crossed the country without a Finnish visa. The Police said that BROWDER "had stayed at the Aaabo Hotel Tuesday night (April 30) after having

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

arrived from Stockholm and had proceeded" to Helsinki the following day by train. "Several hours later he went by train to Lappeenranta and obtained an automobile there to drive to Vainikkala where he stayed overnight."

Confidential Informant T16<sup>4</sup> reported that Mrs. BROWDER had communicated on May 5, 1946 to Mrs. HYMAN GOLDBERG, Hackensack, New Jersey, that EARL did not break the law in Finland because he did not have to register there as the news reports had stated that he had failed to do so, and as a consequence was sought while in that country by Finnish police. She seemed, according to informant, quite elated as she stated that it appeared that everything would soon be the way they hoped it would be.

The Worker of May 5, 1946 published a Communist Party statement on the BROWDER trip. It stated:

" The reaction speculation ... as to whether EARL BROWDER ... may or may not visit the Soviet Union ... is designed ... to create and to try to brand the American Communist Party as a foreign agent. The attempt ... to construe the possible granting or denial of a visa to BROWDER by the Soviet Union as interference in the internal political affairs of the United States is clumsy provocation calculated to impair American-Soviet relations. The Communist Party has no knowledge as to whether or not the government of the Soviet Union will issue a visa to BROWDER nor, for that matter, does the Communist Party have any knowledge as to why the United States State Department issued a passport to BROWDER and facilitated his trip to Europe. The Communist Party does know that BROWDER revised and abandoned Marxism. It does know that BROWDER's anti-Party policies and actions caused great damage to the American Communists and labor movement. This is why our Party expelled BROWDER from its ranks.

" Despite the slanders of the press, the Communist Party of the United States is a completely independent political party of the American working class. It is responsible only to the will and decisions of its own membership which alone has authority and power to fix policies, decide its actions and elect its officers. The Policies of the Communist Party of the United States are based on the interests of the American people and its Marxism-Leninism analysis of the political situation both in the United States and on a world scale.

" On the basis of such analysis BROWDER's policies were rejected and repudiated by the membership and leadership of the Communist Party because they were, and are, policies profoundly anti-Marxist and, therefore, contrary to the interests of the American working class and nation. BROWDER was expelled from its ranks by the Communist Party as an unreconstructed revisionist, as a social imperialist, as an enemy of the working class. He remains a renegade and his policies remain those of an apologist for American imperialism."

~~SECRET~~

The statement was signed by the Communist Party Secretariat.

3. Arrival in Moscow, May 6, 1946

On May 6, 1946, as Confidential Informant T16 reported, Mrs. BROWDER informed HYMAN GOLDBERG that she had received a telegram from her husband stating that he was staying at the largest hotel in Moscow, and she also stated at the time that ABRAHAM A. HELLER was visiting her. Later that day she advised an unidentified woman that EARL BROWDER, whom she referred to as "POP", was not hiding as the Jewish newspaper "Morning Freiheit" suggested, but that he was stopping at the Hotel Moskva. This woman said that she had spoken about "POP" to some persons and that they had ventured the opinion that "POP" must have fit in with the picture in Moscow or he never would have gotten into Russia.

WILLIAM E. BROWDER under date of April 30, 1946, and over his own signature, wrote a letter, a mimeographed copy of which was secured by Confidential Informant T2, directed to "Dear Comrades" relative to BROWDER's visit in the Soviet Union, which reads as follows:

"Dear Comrades:-

"In spite of the badly garbled character of the newspaper stories, you have probably gathered that by now Comrade Earl Browder is in Moscow.

"Disregarding the Hearst-like hysteria of the Daily Worker, we feel sure you will understand the value of any discussions with European Communist leaders. If it has been of value to the American Party to receive advice from Comrade Duclos, we are sure that he is not the only European Marxist whose opinion would be useful to us. Comrade Duclos' opinion was, by his own admission, based upon meager documentation and information as to the actual conditions and developments in the U.S.A.; while opinions given now will be based on complete documentation and information.

"The alarm expressed by the Daily Worker of April 27th, and the Sunday Worker of April 28th, is understandable in view of the fact that they fear a real theoretical discussion of the Party's line. But, to speak of 'some line to be handed down from abroad', when the situation in the Party here today is the result of 'some line handed down from abroad', merely shows that the present leadership of the CPUSA is continuing their line of contradicting themselves in every article they write — you might say, in each paragraph they write.

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

"We hope to have some material for you by air mail from Comrade Browder. And in any event you will of course get a report from him upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Wm. E. Browder "

The New York Times of May 8, 1946 published a news item by its correspondent, BROOKS ATKINSON, bearing the dateline, Moscow, May 7, in which he asked, "Where, oh where has EARL BROWDER gone. According to a bulletin from Helsinki, Finland he entered the Soviet Union May 3rd ... If he left Finland May 3rd he has had sufficient time to reach Moscow ... and start work in the hotel where foreigners find food and shelter in Moscow. He has not yet reported to the United States Embassy which accepts legal responsibility for well-behaved Americans and some who are not when they are living in the Soviet Union."

Confidential Informant [T16] advised that Mrs. BROWDER informed her brother-in-law, WILLIAM on May 9, 1946 that EARL had received at his Yonkers address a letter from New Zealand in which an information service in New Zealand wished BROWDER to represent it in Russia. The informant was not able to elaborate on this information.

Informant [T16] stated that Mrs. BROWDER revealed to Mrs. <sup>that was in</sup> GOLDBERG on May 14, 1946 that she had sent her husband a package of clippings from newspapers as this was the only way to get news.

Confidential Informant [T17] advised on May 15, 1946 that WILLIAM E. BROWDER had dispatched a cable to EARL BROWDER at the Hotel Moskva in Moscow informing him that New Republic had requested subject to prepare an article. Subject was requested to reply if he was interested.

Confidential Informant [T16] reported on May 22, 1946 that Mrs. BROWDER had not heard from her husband since his arrival in Moscow May 6th. She told Mrs. GOLDBERG that she had written to him on May 11th and she stated on May 13th that she had noted in the papers that the chairman of the Communist Party of China was in Moscow. Informant advised that Mrs. BROWDER had expressed no undue concern over the fact that her husband had not established communication with her.

It was not until May 22, 1946 that BROWDER appeared at the American Embassy to register his address in accordance with the usual formality. BROOKS ATKINSON, New York Times correspondent, reported this information on May 22nd and stated that BROWDER had promised to hold a press conference the following day. ATKINSON revealed that BROWDER had been living in a "plush three-room suite on the fifth floor of Moscow's

SECRET

SECRET

"most elaborate hostelry. 'Yes, I have been rattling round here like a pea in the pod', Mr. BROWDER said in a soft Kansas accent, in appreciation of his comfortable apartment."

Confidential Informant [T18] reported that BROWDER arrived in Moscow through Viborg on May 3, 1946, the Soviet entry visa having been issued by Soviet Consen, New York. BROWDER stated that at the time of his appearance at the Embassy he was present in the Soviet Union in a private capacity. He said he had seen more of Moscow than on a previous trip because of his unofficial status. He mentioned visiting the Stalin auto factory and a collective farm. Arrangements for such visits had been made through old contacts on the basis that he was known as a friendly American. Informant reported that he seemed to be favorably impressed by what he had seen of Russia on his visit. He had not the faintest idea, he confessed, as to the reaction of the American Communist Party to his visit. He remarked that Soviet workers had no information regarding and no interest in American Communist Party internal politics.

ATKINSON on May 23, 1946 filed a report which is published in the New York Times of the following day, on the interview had with EARL BROWDER in his suite in the Moscow Hotel. At the time BROWDER declined to discuss politics stating that he was "out of political life entirely" and was no longer a member of the Communist Party. He stated he had come to Moscow on his own initiative as "a sort of free lance writer" to renew old contacts and see what an individual writer might do. He revealed he was discussing a project to represent Soviet publishing houses in developing the publication of Soviet books in America.

BROWDER disclosed that he had paid a courtesy call on Foreign Minister DYACHESLAV MOLOTOV and had seen S. A. LOZOVSKY, Vice Minister of foreign affairs, who heads the Soviet Information Bureau. He expressed doubts as to whether he would see Stalin since he was not taking the initiative in meeting Soviet leaders. ATKINSON wrote, "In a conspicuously amiable mood, Mr. BROWDER smoked a curve-stemmed pipe as he spoke. On his desk was a box of American cigars, an extra pipe, a portable typewriter, a popular Soviet international literature magazine, a travelling chess board, a copy of FRANK MARSHALL's 'My Fifty Years of Chess'.... Asked if he had any idea why the hotel desk had said a week ago that Mr. BROWDER was unknown there (Hotel Moskva), he replied 'Maybe because I told them I didn't want to be disturbed'."

BROWDER said he secured his Soviet visa in America and arranged his transportation through the Cook Travel Agency. He had been informed he would not need a Finnish visa, which he said turned out to be the case. He emphasized that his trip has no relation whatsoever to the Communist Party in the United States. He further revealed that this was his first visit since 1938 and that he had made his first visit to the Soviet Union

SECRET

**SECRET**

25 years ago. He said, "I am doing a little writing for a limited clientele. It's a habit. I am writing in the field of political economy with emphasis on social relations." He expressed the thought that Americans generally were getting a warmer reception in the Soviet Union than formerly. He noted that the Russians had always admired American techniques and business methods but he felt the new warmth of Soviet feeling towards Americans was the direct production of mutual experience of fighting as allies. Shown a clipping of a story attacking him in the Daily Worker, he was reported to have replied mildly that "I wouldn't dignify it with an answer."

The May 24, 1946 issue of the Daily Worker reported that FOSTER as National Chairman of the Communist Party had released the day before a statement unanimously adopted by the National Board which dealt with BROWDER's reported meeting with certain Soviet leaders and his having established business relations with Soviet publishing houses. Commenting on the supposed kind of supreme court to which BROWDER had gone to appeal against the decision of the Communist Party, the statement pointed out, "When it is all added up, the information carried today by the capitalist press about the results of BROWDER's visit to Moscow confirms the utter groundlessness of these speculations and exposes their malicious intent. As was made clear in our Party's previous statements, neither BROWDER's trip nor any announcement of its results could in any way affect the policies of the Communist Party of the United States, which are completely determined by its own membership in accordance with the needs and interests of the American working class and people and therefore, in accord with the interests of all freedom-loving peoples. Therefore, the Communist Party will continue and intensify the struggle against Browderism for Browderism, which is a notorious revision of Marxism, can only serve to undermine the capacity of American people and its Communist Party to fulfill their responsibilities..."

The New York Times of June 1, 1946 reported that BROWDER had conferred with Premier Stalin. However, WILLIAM E. BROWDER, according to Confidential Informant T2, expressed doubt as to this and indicated that he considered it erroneous. The lack of information and the doubts entertained by rank and file Communists were somewhat typified by the following information supplied by Confidential Informant T19 on May 24, 1946 reported that an unknown man in conversation with GIL GREEN, chairman of District #8 of the Communist Party, had expressed concern about the trip of BROWDER to Russia and the newspaper publicity concerning it. The unknown man asked the question that if BROWDER did not represent the Soviet line, why was he being accepted by Russia and returning to the United States as a trade agent. GREEN was asked as to how he could answer it and reportedly replied that there was no answer. The unknown man then said there were plenty of "good agents" here that could be used rather than have BROWDER around to complicate things.

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

Later in the day, according to [T19, FRED FINE, labor secretary of District #8, Chicago, asked GREEN if it would be permissible to reply to questions about the BROWDER situation by saying that BROWDER went to Moscow as a tool of the reactionaries. GREEN countered by saying he did not know the answer and that he was shocked by "this thing". FINE then expressed the fear that BROWDER was in a position to blackmail the Party and might sell out.

4. BROWDER a Representative for Three Soviet Publishing Houses in the United States

The New York Daily Mirror of June 3, 1946 reported the substance of radio commentator DREW PEARSON's remarks in his weekly radio broadcast the previous evening. PEARSON stated that officially BROWDER would represent the Soviet publishing industry in the United States but actually he will report to the Kremlin on American politics as a result of his visit to Moscow. PEARSON said BROWDER had received a "royal reception" in Moscow, having been received by both Premier Stalin (believed erroneous) and former Minister Molotov, despite the fact of his ouster as Communist Party head. PEARSON said "This cordial reception may mean the American Communists once again may be instructed to change their Party line back to cooperate between Communism and capitalism, as advocated by BROWDER."

Mrs. EARL BROWDER conferred, according to Informant [T16, in Russian with ABRAHAM A. HELLER on the morning of June 7, 1946, at which time HELLER informed her that he was definitely leaving by air at five o'clock that afternoon for Russia. Mrs. BROWDER asked HELLER if he knew that the trade union convention would take place in Moscow and that it was very fortunate that EARL had been delayed for it would enable him to perhaps attend the convention. HELLER responded that HAROLD TASKI, former chairman of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, was also going to Moscow. HELLER stated that he would like to meet him as he was an old acquaintance of his. Mrs. BROWDER thought that was wonderful. She stated somebody wanted EARL to leave but it was very fortunate that he was delayed. She asked HELLER to convey to her husband their warmest greetings. She inquired if HELLER had the material about FOSTER's radio speech and HELLER said he had. It was ascertained that HELLER would actually leave for Russia on the time and date mentioned by way of London.

Confidential Informant [T2 learned on June 7, 1946 that WILLIAM E. BROWDER had indicated that since HELLER was proceeding to Moscow, subject decided to remain there for a longer period of time than he originally planned and would probably not return until July 7, 1946. WILLIAM BROWDER further revealed that on June 16, 1946 he had received cable advice from HELLER telling him that the journey from New York to Stockholm via London had gone according to schedule but that upon arriving in Stockholm he had to wait a considerable period of time before he could obtain space on a

~~SECRET~~



SECRET

commercial flight from Stockholm to Moscow. At this time HELLER stated BROWDER was in excellent shape, had gained weight, and was in good spirits. Both men expected to remain in Moscow several weeks and arranged tentatively to arrive by plane in New York City together about July 7, 1946.

The New York Times of June 15, 1946 reported that "the reputedly wealthy Mr. HELLER, purchasing agent more than a quarter-century ago for the Russian Bolshevik regime... (was) bound for Moscow to meet Mr. BROWDER and that is given for the reason for a week's delay on Mr. BROWDER's part returning to this country. He was due back last Sunday or Monday on an American Overseas Airline plane. It is known that he had booking from Stockholm, the European terminal for the airline and that he failed to back up his reservation." The Times article by ALEXANDER FEINBERG stated that HELLER left on a Pan American clipper on a United States passport made out under the name of ABRAHAM HELLER, "Executive with a home address at 104 E. 37th Street". FEINBERG felt, "While Mr. HELLER's record indicated strongly that he might again be put to use by the Soviet in the field in which he had demonstrated success in the past, the tie-up with Mr. BROWDER was not so evident. Mr. BROWDER's mysterious journey to the Soviet capitol ... brought consternation to the current ruling powers (of the Communist Party) who denounced reports of the journey as decisive propaganda on the part of the 'capitalist press'. Since then Mr. BROWDER ... has said that he made the trip to make arrangements for representing Soviet book publishers.

Confidential Informant T16 advised that Mrs. BROWDER informed WILLIAM BROWDER on June 12, 1946 that she had received a telegram from "POP" who told her he had gotten the letters she had sent on May 17, 18 and 19, 1946. BILL BROWDER stated he had not received an answer to his letter. He planned to dispatch a telegram to EARL.

On June 17, 1946 WILLIAM BROWDER and Mrs. EARL BROWDER conferred, according to informant, at which time Mrs. BROWDER told BILL she had received a letter from ABE (A.A. HELLER) dated June 11th from Stockholm. HELLER spent two days in London waiting for a plane. He left London the morning of the 11th and arrived in Sweden the same day. He expected to leave Stockholm the 12th going over the same route subject took via Helsinki. They surmised that HELLER would probably arrive in Moscow on June 18th. Mrs. BROWDER indicated that ABE had telephoned "his chief" (possibly BROWDER) but she had no information when they expected to meet in Moscow. Later that day informant advised that Mrs. BROWDER had received a cable from HELLER advising that he was actually in Moscow, had seen "POP", and everything was "OK".

The New York Times of June 20, 1946 contained a lengthy account of an interview had by the press with BROWDER on June 19, 1946 at the Hotel Moskva. In view of the completeness of the account, the entire news item is set out below. The name of the correspondent did not

SECRET

**SECRET**

appear in connection with the article:

" Bearing with him such gems of Soviet literature as 'The Adventures of a Cabin Boy' and 'Fellow Travelers', Earl Browder, one-time head of the Communist Party in the United States, is returning to New York as soon as transportation can be arranged. There he will set up his business as sole representative of Soviet publishing houses in the United States, a post he describes as a 'channel of communications' between the Soviet Union and the United States.

" In the course of an early morning interview in his suite at the Hotel Moskva, Mr. Browder reasserted that he was 'out of politics' with no intention of returning, but added that he had succeeded in re-establishing contacts here 'as an old friend of the Soviet Union'.

" This was his original objective in coming to Moscow, he said. It was only after he had been here for some time, during which period he was received by Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov, an honor not usually accorded to American businessmen, that he accepted the offer made by Soviet publishers.

" 'During the course of general conversations I pointed out to the Soviet publishers that there was a big market for Soviet books in the United States', he said. 'The publishers made me an offer. It was a challenge to me, and I accepted.'

" The correspondents were greeted in Mr. Browder's three-room suite by a soft-spoken, gray-haired little man who said 'Mr. Browder will be right here,' and disappeared like a puff of smoke. Later, when asked about Abraham Heller of New York, long called an 'angel' of American Communists, Mr. Browder said Mr. Heller had come to the Soviet Union to renew his old custom of coming to Moscow once a year.

" 'After all, he was born and educated here,' Mr. Browder remarked. 'Also, since we are old friends, he was anxious to get here while I was here.'

" (The United Press said that the little man who received the correspondents was Mr. Heller).

" According to Mr. Browder, Mr. Heller is in Moscow 'for personal reasons and is not anxious for any place in the newspapers.' He said that the relation between Mr. Heller and himself was 'purely personal.'

" Mr. Browder admitted his ignorance of the publishing business, 'except as an author', and added that he did not know the attitude of American publishers toward Soviet books. He is sure, he said, that the

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

"Soviet Union will adhere in the near future to the international copyright convention.

" Mr. Browder was in a cheerful mood despite his evident weariness. Someone asked him whether the attacks on him in the United States had abated and he chuckled.

" 'I learned long ago that if one pays too much attention to attacks and tries to answer them all, he won't have time for anything else,' he said. 'Life is too short.'

" Mr. Browder already looks and acts like a book salesman. He had a package of books under his arm, and there was a three-foot pile of other volumes in a corner. His suite in Moscow's best hotel looked better than most sample rooms in the United States, however.

" There were not many 'political' books among his wares, he said, although he pointed out that 'The History of Diplomacy' and 'The Civil War in the U.S.S.R.' might be considered political. American publishers who buy any of his books can choose their own translators, he said, but the translation is subject to approval by the authors.

" As a result of his acceptance Mr. Browder signed a five-year contract that names him as United States representative of all Soviet publishing houses. His salary and expenses will be financed by royalties on Soviet books published in the United States.

" Mr. Browder, saying that he hoped to visit Moscow 'perhaps every year or every two years', insisted that 'my visit has no connection with American politics except insofar as Soviet-American friendship is a political matter.'

" Mr. Browder signed contracts empowering him to represent three Soviet publishing houses in the United States. The contracts were signed by Tagiz, a State publishing house, and two of its affiliates, the Trade Union Publishing House and the Art Publishing House.

" Although the State Publishing House represents all Soviet publishers, Mr. Browder explained, 'art and trade union publishers wanted special attention for their publications and more direct relationship with American firms publishing the same type of book.'

" This will not give him a 'monopoly or anything like that,' Mr. Browder said, but it will make him the main 'channel of communication' and give him an opportunity to facilitate 'cultural exchanges' between the two countries."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

In connection with the information contained in this newspaper account, Confidential Informant T20 advised on June 19, 1946 that a person unknown to the informant conferred with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER at which time FOSTER was informed that the United Press had received a dispatch from M.S. HAMBLER which stated that EARL BROWDER had signed a five-year contract as the exclusive representative of all Soviet publishing houses in the United States. BROWDER was quoted as saying he hoped to visit the Soviet Union with regularity, perhaps every year or two. The dispatch indicated that HELIER was present at the interview and that his reported purpose for being in Moscow was to renew old contacts. BROWDER stated that like all retired politicians, he would write his memoirs upon his return home. Informant stated that FOSTER and this individual laughed at the mention of "retired politician", FOSTER stating "We'll keep him in that status." FOSTER inquired whether the unknown person proposed to publish the contents of the dispatch and was told that only a few lines therefrom would appear in print.

Confidential Informant T21 advised that HELIER, according to WILLIAM BROWDER, would handle the finances for the book and distributing concern that BROWDER would apparently establish upon his return to the United States. It was WILLIAM BROWDER's opinion that the contemplated project of EARL and HELIER would probably cut into the business of Sovfoto, which is operated by HELEN BLACK, but he did not believe it would operate in competition with the Four Continent Book Shop. At this time WILLIAM BROWDER stated that he had received but two communications from his brother but the contents were not otherwise divulged other than the fact that EARL had stated that if for no other reason the trip would have been worthwhile just to see the state farms.

#### IV RELATED INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES

##### 1. Link of Subject with Early Russian Espionage Activities

Confidential Informant T22 advised that subject and JACOB GOLOS, who, prior to his death in 1943, was connected with World Tourist, Inc., had a close working espionage arrangement apparently unknown to the Russians or the Communist Party. In the fall of 1941, GOLOS was reported to be making available to BROWDER all of the espionage material he obtained prior to passing it on to his (GOLOS') Russian contacts. BROWDER was only permitted to read the material and was not allowed to have it in his possession except for a brief period. This, of course, supplied BROWDER with an excellent source of information, some of which was known to have been utilized in his speeches and press releases.

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

BROWDER was aware of the fact that GOLOS had been in the employ of the Russian espionage system and as a matter of fact, in return for the privilege of seeing such information BROWDER allegedly supplied GOLOS with individuals in the Communist Party who carried on espionage work for GOLOS. When GOLOS died in 1943, ELIZABETH BENTLEY, an associate of GOLOS' who assisted him in his espionage work, contacted BROWDER to determine what course she should follow in carrying on GOLOS' work as head of a large ring of Americans working as espionage agents for the U.S.S.R. BROWDER is reported to have instructed BENTLEY to continue the operation of the ring as GOLOS had previously done and not to allow these people to be taken over by the Russians. After GOLOS' death, a sum of money approximating \$11,000 or \$12,000 on one occasion and on a later occasion about \$3,000 was turned over to BROWDER by BENTLEY or on instructions from her. These funds had belonged to GOLOS and BROWDER accepted them without comment. Pressure was later on in May 1944 exerted on BENTLEY to turn all of her American contacts over to a Russian contact known as BILL. BENTLEY brought this to BROWDER's attention and she was instructed to arrange a meeting between BROWDER and this BILL.

In June 1944, as informant advised, BROWDER informed BENTLEY that she was directed to turn over to the espionage group operating under the leadership of NATHAN SILVERMASTER her Russian contact known as BILL. Another Russian contact of BENTLEY's by the name of JACK was requested to confer with BROWDER, but because of his position in the Russian espionage set-up he could not afford to see BROWDER personally. JACK proposed that a cover company of some kind might effectively serve as a front for the activities of the Russian agents. It is believed that BROWDER was approached with this objective in mind but arrangements were never perfected for the cover.

BENTLEY was known to have been in contact with BROWDER nearly every two weeks until December 1944 when the last of her American contacts was released to her Russian contact, JACK. In October 1945 BENTLEY contacted BROWDER with reference to the several visits made to her office by IEM HARRIS, an undercover financial agent of the Communist Party, who was attempting to obtain from her the \$15,000 that had originally been put into the United States Service and Shipping Corporation by EARL BROWDER. BROWDER refrained from advising BENTLEY in view of his lack of authority since he had been ousted from the leadership of the Party, but BROWDER is known to have stated that he did not intend to do anything about it as long as he remained in his present status as far as the Party was concerned. (4) (\$)

When BROWDER was acquainted in December 1945 with the present unstable affairs of the United States Service and Shipping Corporation and of World Tourist, Inc. and of the Communist Party's attempts to realize some profits from these two corporations, he expressed the belief that both corporations were being closely watched by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that their activities would be disclosed if Party officials made

SECRET

OK

any attempts to operate these groups. He stated it would be advisable to inform the proper Russian contacts on these attempts to gain control of these groups and indicated that probably they would take some measures to prevent this from being done. He stated that in the event they did not deem it desirable to take any measures in this regard, the Russians would definitely have nothing to do with anyone connected with either group and the probable result would be the loss of their contract with ~~Intourist~~ of Russia.

Confidential Informant T2 related that on April 25, 1946 the matter of the \$15,000 was again the subject of discussion between Colonel REYNOLDS of the United States Service and Shipping Corporation and BROWDER. BROWDER stated at this time that if the company was in such a financial condition that it could afford to repay this money, they should put it in a trust account and hold it until BROWDER regained control of the Communist Party, at which time they could turn it over to him and he would see that it was placed in the Party funds. He stated that if they so desired they might give this money to Russian relief or some other worthy Russian enterprise. REYNOLDS then informed BROWDER of several calls he had received from THEODORE BAYER who, in addition to being managing editor of "Soviet Russia Today", became the successor of IEM HARRIS as financial agent for the Communist Party about December 1945. BROWDER cautioned REYNOLDS not to see BAYER under any circumstances.

## 2. A Dialogue On Marxian Theory

Confidential Informant T2 made available a copy of a two-page mimeographed dialogue, unsigned, which bore the caption "A Dialogue On Marxian Theory Between Two Communist Party Members". Informant reported that this dialogue had been prepared by EARL BROWDER and circulated through the mailing list in his possession. The dialogue is reproduced below:

Com. X.: "Well, I see Foster has completely demolished Browder in the April issue of Political Affairs. Doesn't leave him a leg to stand on. He exposes Browder's renegacy so that any simpleton can see it. You must finally admit that Foster is a great Marxist theoretician to have been able all these years to see the real Browder so clearly!"

Com. Y.: "Perhaps you're right that Browder is completely demolished. At least very few people defend him, and the outcry against him is getting louder and louder. But I'm a bit fearful that something besides Browder is being demolished. Are you sure about Foster as a Marxist theoretician? Remember, you were sure about Browder, too!"

RET

~~SECRET~~

Com. X.: "Of course I'm sure about Foster! If I didn't know you so well I'd suspect you of being a hidden Browderite, making remarks like that. Just read his last article! He proves by facts, quotations, that Browder is a shameless advocate of American imperialism, and even considers imperialism is progressive. After that, no one will dare mention the name Browder again in our Party!"

Com. Y.: "Yes, I read the article. So we will not mention the name of Browder any more. Let us rather discuss the Marxian policy of Foster. I read in Political Affairs, (p.303): 'It is not a question of working out a new program for peace, but that the program already exists — in the Moscow, Yalta, and Potsdam agreements'. Okay, that seems clear, except that I don't understand why Teheran has been expelled from the list. The program for peace is that agreed upon by Roosevelt and Stalin and Churchill, and carried a step further by Truman and Stalin and Atlee. Foster wants this carried out. Fine, there can be a very broad united front on this demand."

Com. X.: "Wait a minute, now, you're trying to trick me into agreeing that Foster's policy is no different from Browder's."

Com. Y.: "Not at all, I merely want to make clear what Foster's policy is. He wants to put into effect the agreements of the Big Three. So far, then, I have nothing to quarrel about with you. And if we succeed in this, we will have gained a progressive role for our country, I assume. That's good, too, for I like to have the U.S. progressive, even if it is capitalist and imperialist."

Com. X.: "Now I'm sure you are a concealed Browderite. Only a Browder follower would conceive that American imperialism could ever be progressive. The point is, and I will not let you dodge it, that the United States will never allow this peace program to be carried out so long as this country is imperialist. In order to carry out this program, American imperialism must be defeated."

Com. Y.: "What you are saying is, then, that there cannot be peace and imperialism dominating the U.S. at the same time. In other words, either we overthrow American imperialism or war against the Soviet Union is inevitable. But that is not what Foster says in his brilliant and historic pamphlet 'The Menace of a New World War' which is being distributed in 750,000 copies. In fact, Foster says there will be no war; he says of the Soviet and American peoples: 'They fan, they must, they will'... 'live together in full peace and harmony'."

Com. X.: "You're distorting Foster's words. You know very well that he said this could be 'except for the greed of capitalist monopolists and imperialists'; first we must take power from the imperialists, then we can have peace."

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Com. Y.: "You are at least consistent, my friend. But Foster says something different. He mentions the ending of the existing system in the U.S. only as a result of another world war, not as something that will prevent the war from occurring. His exact words are: 'Another world war would be the end of this outworn system.' Now, the ending of the capitalist system is certainly important enough, and if it shall come as a preventive of war this should be explained. But Foster mentions it only as something that will happen if war is not prevented. Don't you think this little matter should be cleared up with Foster before you go out on a limb agitating for the revolution as our peace program? Foster might repudiate you, as he has other persons, and then you would become an enemy of the working class."

Com. X.: "You, with your fancy Socratic dialectics, are only trying to confuse me. But I have complete faith in the Marxian dialectics of Com. Foster, and therefore I cannot be confused. I know that war is not inevitable, but it is inevitable unless imperialism is defeated; I know that revolution and socialism will be the result of another war, but that we are going to prevent the war and march forward to socialism; I know that we are going to defeat imperialism, and break its power, by the bold vanguard role of the Communist Party and by fearlessly denouncing and exposing its spokesmen, Truman and Browder. No, you with your Browderite sophistries cannot confuse me any more. Thanks to Duclos and Foster, my eyes have been opened. Everything is clear to me. We are marching forward to the socialist revolution, and you and your kind are trying to stop us, you are trying to save imperialism from its just doom. I'm going to take up your case with the District Cadre and Review Commission, and you will soon repent such views or you will be thrown onto the scrap-heap of history with Browder and the other renegades."

Com. Y.: "Wait a minute. Don't run off so quick. I haven't expressed any views at all. I have voted for the expulsion of Browder and everyone else who failed to denounce him. I have voted full and complete confidence in the brilliant and unmatched Marxian leadership of Com. Foster. I am in complete agreement with Foster's policies. I only asked you to explain to me what those policies are. Please don't get me expelled for that. After all, somebody has got to find out what they are sometime."

#### V PRESENT PLANS OF SUBJECT

Various press services reported that EARL BROWDER left Moscow by plane for Paris, France on June 20, 1946. He departed the following day from Paris by American Overseas Airlines and arrived in London where he did not hold a British visa, on Saturday evening, June 22, 1946. The

~~SECRET~~



SECRET

Herald Tribune of June 25, 1946 quoted a British home office spokesman as explaining, "It's very simple. He arrived Saturday night and was due to leave Sunday but there was no seat for him on the plane. Then he was to leave today (June 24) but the flight appears to have been cancelled. Since he has no permission to remain in this country he must either wait for a plane at Heathrow Airport or return to Paris. He is waiting at the airport." The article stated that the spokesman conceived that BROWDER "very possibly" is being prevented from communicating with anyone other than the police but declined to comment on whether this was not an unusual procedure for persons delayed in Great Britain.

A spokesman for the American Embassy, the article continued, when asked by what authority BROWDER was being held, stated that the United States often employed similar procedure at Ellis Island. He pointed out that BROWDER's transit visa allowed him merely to "touch down" in England. The spokesman added that BROWDER "apparently is perfectly happy. He has made no effort to get in touch with us."

On June 25, 1946 an Associated Press dispatch announced that BROWDER had left London aboard an American Overseas Airlines constellation plane that morning. After some delay in Shannon, Ireland the plane continued on to New York City, arriving at Marine Terminal, Laguardia Field at 6 p.m. EST on June 26, 1946. HELIER did not return with him. The pilot of the plane, Captain C. T. ROBERTSON, told reporters that the British had followed the unusual procedure of having the pilot as captain of the ship "sign" a slip saying BROWDER was a passenger and was leaving England. Presumably, the captain stated, BROWDER was in his custody under the circumstances, having been turned over to him by the British Security Police. An unfriendly demonstration occurred following BROWDER's release from United States Customs at the air base, when bystanders in the air terminal's rotunda booed and hissed BROWDER as he walked through the crowd. He departed in an automobile driven by HYMAN GOLDBERG, together with Mrs. BROWDER and a son of BROWDER's, for his home in Yonkers, New York.

One of the first things subject planned to do <sup>4</sup> upon his return to the United States, WILLIAM E. BROWDER is reported by T2 <sup>72</sup> to have related, was to complete his political autobiography and he planned to spend at least two or three hours every day on such work until he was finished. In this connection there appeared in the May 4, 1946 issue of the Washington Post the following statement from LEONARD LYONS' column "Gossip from Gotham": "Before EARL BROWDER left for Russia a few days ago, the former head of the Communist Party put the finishing touches to his memoirs and deposited the manuscript with a lawyer in the event of an accident befalling him while he is away."

Informants have at this writing been unable to supply any further details with respect to other of BROWDER's proposed plans.

- P E N D I N G -

SECRET

UNDEVELOPED LEADS

~~SECRET~~

NEW YORK FIELD DIVISION

AT NEW YORK CITY

Will continue to follow and report the activities on the part of EARL R. BROWDER seeking particularly to learn to what extent BROWDER may have received specific instructions from Russian Communist officials with respect to future policies and procedures to adopt and follow in connection with the affairs of the Communist Party, USA, and also with reference to his activities in connection with his new venture as a contract representative for the Soviet publishing houses mentioned in this report. Possibilities must be borne in mind that such latter activity may necessitate subject's registration as an agent of a foreign government, and when sufficient information is developed with respect to the details of such working agreements as they exist, appropriate steps should be taken to determine whether the subject's activities are such as to warrant registration. In this latter connection also, the opportunities for espionage activity must likewise be kept in mind.

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

Confidential informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent Jerome W. Brower, dated at New York, ~~JUL~~ 8 1946 are as follows:

T1 - [redacted]

T2 - Confidential Informant [redacted] whose identity is known to the Bureau.

T3 - [redacted]

T4 - A report of November 19, 1945 submitted for the information of the New York office by the Bureau in a communication dated December 6, 1945, bearing the caption "Communist Party, USA; Internal Security (C)" (U)

T5 - [redacted]

T6 - A personal and confidential letter from the Bureau to the New York office dated February 20, 1946, and bearing the caption of this case.

T7 - (Not used)

T8 - [redacted]

T9 - A report written by [redacted] from Bogota, Colombia, under date of March 27, 1946, re JUAN FRANCISCO MUJICA, subject of a Security Matter (C) case in the New York office, which report was also received by the New York office from the Bureau.

T10 - A confidential report of the [redacted] of the New York Police Department, [redacted] a copy of which was made available through the courtesy of Captain [redacted] in charge of such Bureau.

T11 - [redacted]

T12 - Reports of Special Agent Philip C. Loviren dated April 2, 1944 and Special Agent Leon W. Elledge dated June 9, 1944, both at Newark, New Jersey, in the case entitled "HYMAN GOLDBERG; SECURITY MATTER (C)" (U)

SECRET

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

T13 -

T14 -

T15 - A teletype from the Washington Field Division transmitted June 14, 1946 in connection with this investigation

T16 -

T17 -

T18 - A confidential report made by [redacted] of the [redacted] included in Bureau letter to the New York Field Division dated May 31, 1946.

T19 - Confidential Informant [redacted] as the source mentioned in letter from the Chicago Field Division to New York dated May 27, 1946.

T20 -

The identities of the NYT and NYC informants are known to

Bureau.

b7D

b7D

b7D

b7D

b7D

~~SECRET~~

INDEX GUIDE

~~SECRET~~

TITLE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

CHARACTER: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

S. A.: JEROME W. BROWER

DATE: 7-8-46

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>NAME:</u> ADAMSON, ERNIE	<u>PAGE:</u> #5;6;
AMTER, ISRAEL	3;4;
ANTONIO, JOSE	25;
ART PUBLISHING HOUSE	2;
ARZE, JOSE ANTONIO	25;
BACHRACH, MARION	25;
BARRERO, FILIBERTO	9;25;
BAYER, THEODORE	44;65;
BENTLEY, ELIZABETH	48;50;64;
BENTLEY, ELIZABETH T.	47;
BERKE, WILLIAM	34;50;
BILL, ONE	64;
BRANCH, WILLIAM E.	45;46;
BROWDER, BILL	60;
BROWDER, EARL MRS.	51;52;54;55;56;59;60;
BROWDER, MARGARET	45;46;47;48;
BROWDER, RALPH	45;47;
BROWDER, RALPH WALDO	47;
BROWDER, WILLIAM	37;45;50;60;63;
BROWDER, WILLIAM E.	1;2;6;26;34;36;42;44;45;46;
	47;55;56;58;59;68;
BROWDER, WILLIAM EDWIN	45;
BUDENZ, LOUIS F.	6;
CACCHIONE, PETER	7;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT CGO-57458	71;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT	10;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT	34;36;50;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT	3;7;10;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT	8;34;35;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT	43;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT	71;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-3	70;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-25	70;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-26	70;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-54	71;
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-231	71;

b6  
b7C  
b7D

~~SECRET~~

(72)

NAME: [CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-231] (S) 4  
[CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-277] (S) 4  
[CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-311] (S) 4  
[CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT NYT-333] (S) 4

CONTRERAS, CARLOS  
DENNIS, EUGENE  
DENNIS, GENE  
DIALOGUE ON MARXIAN THEORY  
DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INCORPORATED

DON, SAM  
DUCLOS, JACQUES  
EXPULSION OF BROWDER FROM COMMUNIST PARTY  
FEINBERG, ALEXANDER  
FINE, FRED  
FISCHER, RUTH  
FLYNN, ELIZABETH GURLEY  
FOSTER, WILLIAM Z.

FRANCISCO, JUAN  
GANNETT, BETTY  
GILBERT, RODNEY  
GOFF, SOPHIE  
GOLDBERG, ESTHER W.  
GOLDBERG, ESTHER WEISSBERG  
GOLDBERG, HYMAN  
GOLDBERG, HYMAN MRS.  
GOLDWAY, DAVID  
GOUSEV, M. M.  
GREEN, GIL  
GUBELSKI, CHAIM  
HAGSTROM, ONE  
HANSBOROUGH, RAY  
HARRIS, LEM  
HEIMAN, JULIUS  
HELLER, A. A.  
HELLER, ABE  
HELLER, ABRAHAM  
HELLER, ABRAHAM A.  
HERNANDEZ, FILIBERTO BARRERO  
HILLMAN, SIDNEY  
INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS  
INTOURIST OF RUSSIA  
JACK, ONE  
JEFFRIES, GLENN  
KEITH, CHARLES  
KOCIN, SIDNEY  
KRUMBEIN, CHARLES  
LABARCA, CARLOS CONTRERAS  
LAPIN, ADAM

PAGE: #71;

~~SECRET~~

70;  
71;  
71;  
25;  
7;8;24;37;49;50;51;  
7;  
65;  
1;2;18;33;36;39;41;42;44;  
45;46;47;  
37;  
3;4;5;52;55;  
26;  
60;  
59;  
38;  
6;  
1;3;7;8;16;17;18;20;24;25;  
26;28;34;37;38;39;49;50;  
52;58;63;  
25;  
6;  
8;  
34;  
43;  
43;  
1-6-42-43-44-45-55-68;  
54;56;  
46;  
53;  
58;59;  
43;  
11;  
35;  
64;65;  
25;  
60;  
60;  
60;61;  
2;44;45;47;48;55;59;60;68;  
9-25;  
16;  
45;  
65;  
64;  
9;  
9;  
39;  
10;35;  
25;  
6;

~~SECRET~~

NAME: LASKI, HAROLD  
LOMBARDO, VICENTE  
MAGIL, A. B.  
MALTZ, ALBERT  
MAO, TSE TUNG  
MEADOWS, ANN  
MEJICA, JUAN FRANCISCO  
MINOR, ROBERT  
MOLOTOV, DYACHESLAV  
MOLOTOV, V. M.  
MOLOTOV, VYACHESLAV M.  
[REDACTED]  
MONTGOMERY, JEAN  
MONTGOMERY, WILLIAM  
MURRAY, PHILIP  
NATIONAL BOARD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
NATIONAL REVIEW COMMISSION  
NORMAN, WILLIAM  
NORTH, JOE  
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL  
ORGANIZATION  
RAUSCHER, DOROTHY K.  
REYNOLDS, JOHN H.  
ROCA, BLAS  
ROPES, ELMO  
ROSS, ELEANORE  
SELIGSOHN, HEDI  
SILLEN, SIMON  
SILVERMASTER, NATHAN  
SMITH, GERALD L. K.  
STACHEL, JACK  
STALIN, JOSEF  
SULLIVAN, THOMAS R.  
TAGIZ  
THOMPSON, ROBERT  
THOREZ, ONE  
TOLEDANO, VICENTE LOMBARDO  
TRACHTENBERG, ALEXANDER  
TRADE UNION CONVENTION  
TRADE UNION PUBLISHING HOUSE  
TSE, TUNG MAO  
TUNG, MAO TSE  
UNITED STATES SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION  
WALLACE, HENRY A.  
WARREN, AL  
WECHSLER, JAMES A.  
WEINER, ONE  
WEISS, MAX  
WELLMAN, SAUL  
WHEELDIN, HERBERT  
WILLIAMSON, JOHN  
WOOD, ONE  
WORLD TOURIST, INCORPORATED  
WORTIS, ROSE

PAGE: #59;

25;  
7;36;  
5;31;  
8;  
46;  
25;  
24;  
57;  
2;  
61;  
70;  
45;  
45;  
16;  
18;  
35;  
7;10;  
36;  
  
16;  
39;  
47;48;50;65;  
25;  
49;  
39;  
25;  
5;  
64;  
36;  
4;  
38;  
45;  
2;  
4;10;26;32;  
3;  
25;  
6;37;44;45;  
59;  
2;  
8;  
8;  
64;65;  
49;  
43;  
52;  
37;  
34;36;  
35;  
10;  
4;18;19;24;  
6;  
64;  
10;

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

b7D

u  
(X)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(74)

ml  
112  
ab  
g

Russia - IntSec - R

Rome, Italy  
June 13, 1946

~~SECRET~~ - U. S.  
ARMY COURIER

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Egan	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Pennington	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

Director, FBI

Re: EARL BROWDER  
Security Matter - R.

Dear Sir:

There are forwarded herewith six copies of an information circular airgram directed to certain American Missions by the United States State Department, via secret code, and designated as "Secret for Chief of Mission". Said airgram, it will be noted, was not distributed in the Department, for which reason it is being brought to the Bureau's attention at this time. This airgram concerns a long conversation had by the Subject and a member of the American Embassy in Moscow.

Additional copies are being submitted herewith in the event that it is deemed desirable to file same in other than the file on Subject.

Very truly yours,

Stanley R. Russo

Stanley R. Russo  
Vice Consul

SRR:bas  
Encls.

RECORDED

32 JUL 3 1946

RECORDED

57 JUL 18 1946

declassified  
per ltr 11/10/77

ST-11  
RECORDED  
5/5-B  
5

5/5-B  
5

Whitaker  
James  
Hannay



NO DISTRIBUTION IN DEPARTMENT

~~SECRET~~

June 3, 1946

8:40 a.m.

INFORMATION CIRCULAR AIRGRAM

~~SECRET~~ FOR CHIEF OF MISSION

TO CERTAIN AMERICAN MISSIONS

Browder's Trip to Moscow

In a long conversation with a member of our Embassy in Moscow Earl Browder stated that his removal as head of the American Communists resulted from an effort by the Party to find a new policy to meet the situation resulting from the death of Roosevelt, the end of the war, and the expectation of crippling industrial chaos in the US which would offer great revolutionary opportunities. He journeyed to Moscow to determine for himself the Soviet reaction to his purge, and the discovery that his prestige was undamaged and his friendships intact has removed any doubt in his mind as to whether the USSR ordered the purge. Browder maintains that the American Communists accepted Duclos' attack on him as the party "line" whereas actually USSR has no interest in problems of the American Communist Party.

Browder now intends to undertake the long-term task of explaining the USSR to Americans. He is confident that US-USSR relations will work out satisfactorily and claims the Soviet people have a great reservoir of friendship for the US. While Browder made several statements about Soviet life which reflected a cynical note, our Embassy feels that he is tremendously grateful, even overwhelmed, at the warmth of his reception by Soviet leaders and can be expected to plug the Moscow line very promptly on his return. On the other hand, his utility to the Kremlin is expected to be more than that of a publicist. As an "elder statesman" of the American Communist Party his appraisals of US trends and his recommendation on policy will probably be read with respect in Moscow.

It is suggested in Moscow that the American party acted too quickly on the Duclos article. The fact of Browder's warm reception by the Soviets, with the implication that the

COPIES DESTROYED  
842 OCT 5 1970

DECLASSIFIED BY S [REDACTED] [REDACTED]  
CN 9/26/99 # [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

American Communists went out on a limb, is expected to exert a somewhat demoralizing effect on the American party. Doubts over what Moscow really feels on this point may also have a disruptive effect on party members and fellow travelers elsewhere.

The Embassy finds of interest Browder's emphasis on the flexible pragmatism of Soviet leaders -- their own undogmatic approach in contrast to their insistence on the orthodox line for the masses -- in which the Embassy concurs. Browder noted that Duclos wrote about the US on the basis of dogmatic precepts and not on the basis of real life, whereas Marxism was actually not a dogma but a living system that must be applied to each cultural climate in which it is planted. Browder said the same conflict appeared in the USSR. Lesser figures who had to write about current events would write according to "the book". Soviet leaders on the other hand are utter realists, and have not formulated a definite program toward the outside world but are watching developments. Their evaluation of the US and other countries is pragmatic and not ideological.

Byrnes

am  
Z

SAC, New York

July 1, 1946

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

RECORDED

Attached for your information and appropriate consideration is a secret paraphrase of an incoming telegram to the State Department from Ambassador Smith in Moscow. It will be noted that this communication concerns an interview of a member of the Embassy Staff in Moscow with Browder.

This information is submitted to you for informational purposes with the caution that it should be evaluated in the light that Browder undoubtedly engaged in considerable "double talk" with the Embassy representative.

It is not believed that this material should be incorporated in any investigative report at the present time.

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [redacted] # [redacted]

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

52 AUG 15 1946

b6  
b7C

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
INCOMING TELEGRAM

INFORMATION  
COPY

ACTION-EUR  
INFO:

S  
U  
C  
A-R  
A-B  
A-C  
SA/M  
EUR-X  
SPA  
ESP  
OCD  
FC  
DC/R

ES -S  
No paraphrase necessary.

~~SECRET~~

SECSTATE

10503

Moscow via War

Dated May 29, 1946

Rec'd 10:33 a.m.

1683, May 29, 1 p.m.

Member of my staff had Browder to lunch May 27. Philosophically and occasionally humorously Browder set forth the following ideas: his purge grew out of Roosevelt's death, end of war, expectation of crippling industrial chaos in USA offering revolutionary opportunities (which expectation he had shared), and consequent search by American CP for new policy for new situation. Taking long historical view Browder did not attempt to provide easy answers. "Authoritative" Duclos article was taken as the line and Browder was purged. Yet, "American CP no more takes orders from Paris than from Moscow".

Although Browder had intended to retire from politics after war, this was not manner in which he had looked forward to leaving scene. He was, therefore, upset by turn of events.

While he had been able to rationalize his position to himself, one grave doubt remained unanswered. That was Soviet reaction. He consequently precipitously flew to Moscow where he has now "resolved that doubt". "I found among my friends here utmost indifference to ideological difference in American CP. His prestige was undamaged and friendships remained intact."

Now with a free heart he can return to USA to take up long-term task of explaining USSR to American people. Making Soviet people understand USA is problem for others.

In a personal

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
per 64-11111  
ESP 240

RECORDED  
EX-42

EARL BROWDER

memo, SAC, N.Y.  
+ Encl.  
EHW 7/1/46

~~SECRET~~

-2- #1683, May 29, 1 p.m., from Moscow via War.

In a personal way he has made his own contribution to that. Russians who have known him have understood USA better, feeling that he was a typical American. "My usefulness to Soviet Union is due to fact that I am a typical American and that as such I have a higher loyalty than ideology".

Browder criticized Duclos only to extent of saying that Duclos wrote about USA from "the book"...dogmatic precept...rather than from life. Duclos does not understand USA, but he is free to express his opinions. Duclos is, however, more cautious in his pronouncements about France than about USA.

Throughout his conversation Browder emphasized this distinction between dogmatic application of Marxist theory and its application in terms of living experience. Marxism is not a dogma, Browder explained, It is a living system which must be adapted to cultural climate in which it is planted.

This distinction between dogmatic and living Marxism Browder applied also to USSR. He said Soviet press was not always representative of thinking of Soviet leaders because second - level men who wrote for newspapers had to say something on major subjects of day and in order to avoid laying themselves open to reprimand wrote according to "the book". On other hand, Soviet leaders are utter realists. They have not yet formulated definitive program with regard to outside world but are watching fluid post - war developments and withholding final judgment. He implied that their evaluation of USA and other countries was pragmatic rather than ideological. Yet he maintained that current emphasis on indoctrination of Soviet masses is sound and necessary.

Browder was confident that in long pull USSR - USA

relations

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-3- #1683, May 29, 1 p.m., from Moscow via War.

relations would work out satisfactorily. There is a great reservoir of good-will for USA among Soviet people. It is a very personal sort of friendship, growing out of war experiences. Current tension he attributed to fact that "each side now wants its heart's desire without being willing to meet other halfway".

Browder made several statements about life in USSR which had cynical flavor. He referred to his three-room suites at Hotel Moskva which he could not have changed for one room because it would have required a "revolution". He commented on excellent restaurants where only those with great deal of money can eat. He said he did not know Soviet people because when he visited factories he was able to meet only union officials.

Browder expressed great interest in China and admiration of complex ever-surprising Chinese mentality. He said China had exerted tremendous influence on his thinking from 1927 when he worked underground in Shanghai and Central China. Russians who had then dealt with China problem had been "too busy" really to understand China. One exception was Borodin. Regarding present he had entertained hopes for success of Marshall mission, but no longer. Internal Chinese rift is too great.

Comment American CP miscalculation of postwar industrial strife in USA is significant because it tends to confirm our feeling that USSR committed same error in formulating its policy towards USA. That error in appraisal has presumably now been corrected.

Browder's subjective Marxist explanation of his purge and need to appear at Kremlin confessional is straight Kansas Koestler.

Objective fact of Soviet hospitality extended him, with implication that AM CP acted on bum steer, will presumably exert somewhat demoralizing effect on AM CP. Gibbons, Moscow correspondent LONDON DAILY WORKER, stated few days ago that AM CP acted too quickly on Duclos article.

~~SECRET~~

While

~~SECRET~~

-4- #1683, May 29, 1 p.m., from Moscow via War.

While Browder's "higher loyalty" is Communist double talk, it is symptomatic of subtler relationship existing between Moscow and certain foreign CP's since dissolution of Comintern.

Of particular interest is Browder's emphasis on flexible pragmatism of Soviet leaders, their own undogmatic approach in contrast to their insistence on orthodox for Soviet masses. If such a situation exists, as we suspect it does, then present Soviet system contains a profound contradiction. This difference in outlook represents a greater chasm between Soviet rulers and people than caviar and country villas. (This gap, however, is narrowing because Soviet people have developed a discreet cynicism about Communist pie in the sky and generally tend to regard ideology as matter of form.)

Soviet goodwill toward USA and optimism over future of Soviet-American relations will presumably be two lines Browder will plug on return to USA. His utility to Kremlin is, however, likely to be more extensive than that of publicist. As an "elder statesman" of AM Communism his appraisals of AM trends and recommendation on policy will probably be read with respect in Kremlin.

My own brief talk with Browder confirmed in toto the accuracy of the above, but emphasized even more closely the direct connection between the American Communist Party and the Kremlin. Browder, whose intention is to write his own memoirs, will plug the Moscow line very strongly in the US since it was obvious that he was tremendously grateful, even overwhelmed, at the warmth of his reception here by Soviet leaders. His almost childish gratitude for this reception was surprising and somewhat amusing as coming from an individual with his hardboiled and cynical outlook on matters in general. He implied several times during his conversation that he had been stubborn and unyielding in refusing to submerge

his American

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-5- #1683, May 29, 1 p.m., from Moscow via War.

his American loyalties or blindly to follow the party line as dictated from Moscow, and I am inclined to believe that within the scope of his own ideology he was sincere about this. He believes that this stubbornness has increased the respect which he obviously feels is still accorded him by the Kremlin.

SMITH

RB

~~SECRET~~



SAC, New York City

June 25, 1946

Director, FBI

*P3*  
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The Department of State has advised of receiving information to the effect that when Browder left on his trip to the Soviet Union he had in his possession approximately "two hundred million dollars" worth of American contracts which he intended to turn over to appropriate business concerns in the Soviet Union. The Department of State has no knowledge as to the veracity of this information, and has requested that the Bureau through its established informant coverage check into the matter.

The Bureau desires that you discreetly undertake to make this check immediately through your established informants in an effort to determine whether Browder actually did have contracts for business firms to be completed in the Soviet Union. An attempt should be made to determine the concerns he was representing and the value of the contracts, as well as any other pertinent information.

This matter should be given your prompt attention so that the Department of State can be advised as soon as possible.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg **EBRIAM**  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED

EX-48

40-3798-  
F B I  
JUL 10 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/3/99 BY #

52 JUL 24 1946

b6  
b7C

Assistant Attorney General T. L. Caudle,  
Criminal Division

July 3, 1946

Director - FBI

RECORDED  
EARL RUSS BROWDER

413

DECLASSIFIED BY 175/77

b6  
b7C

Reference is made to your inquiry for any information in the Bureau's possession relative to the purpose of Browder's trip to the Soviet Union and relative to any activities he may engage in upon his return to the United States for or on behalf of foreign principals.

This is to advise that the Bureau has received information from a source believed to be reliable that Browder went to the Soviet Union for the purpose of re-establishing contacts with top policy makers in that country, and to attempt to influence them on the idea that the present Communist Party line presently being laid down by William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis is not being readily accepted. It was further alleged that Browder felt he could sell his ideas to some of the sympathetic leaders in Moscow, and that he could be successful upon his return to the United States in regaining control of the Communist Party and running it according to his ideas. It was said that Browder indicated he was certain that a number of the top men in the Soviet Union were in favor of a Communist Party in the United States similar to one which he, Browder, had prescribed during the time he was in leadership, particularly during World War II.

This Bureau has also received allegations subsequent to Browder's return to the United States that he felt that his trip was successful; that he had been well received in the Soviet Union; and that he had been a guest of the Soviet Government during his stay there with all expenses defrayed by the Soviets. (It might be noted that no specific facts other than this allegation have been received in this regard.) It is further alleged that Browder has made the claim that he would receive some support in the Soviet Union for whatever policy he might pursue toward ousting William Z. Foster from the leadership of the Communist Party.

Information has also been received that Browder allegedly secured a favorable and financially advantageous five year contract from some unidentified group or body in the Soviet Union for his, Browder's, exclusive handling in the United States of certain Soviet publications. It is alleged that possibly Browder may have trouble, legal or otherwise, with International Publishers, Inc. providing satisfactory arrangements cannot be made with that concern.

You are confidentially advised that this Bureau is following the activities of Browder closely and that you will be informed of any pertinent developments in this matter. In the meantime, this Bureau would appreciate being advised in advance of any action taken by the Criminal Division with respect to

Browder's possible registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 as amended.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

ETHW:MIP

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 1  
★ JUL 8 1946 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Handwritten signatures and initials: "E", "PH", and "JUL 8 1946".

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General,  
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Earl Browder

DATE: June 21, 1946

TLC:NTE:lr

39-51-977

TLC  
no  
1

It appears from the press that Earl Browder, who is presently in Russia, has entered into arrangements for representing Soviet publishing agencies in the United States. Such arrangements may, of course, necessitate his registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In view of this possibility, it will be appreciated if you furnish me personally with any information you may obtain as to the purpose of Browder's trip to Russia and as to any activities he may engage in upon his return for or on behalf of foreign principals.

*W. E. ...*  
*Har ...*

*memo. to Caudle*  
*7-3-46*  
*6HW*

RECORDED

EX-2

40-3788-413  
FBI  
30 JUL 11 1946

487  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

Rome, Italy  
June 27, 1946

~~SECRET - U. S.~~  
ARMY COURIER

Director, FBI

Re: <sup>6</sup>EARL BROWDER  
France Security Matter - R.

Dear Sir:

There are forwarded herewith six copies of a paraphrased telegram received by the Rome Embassy from the Paris Embassy on June 22, 1946, regarding the return trip of captioned Subject from Russia to America.

It is noted that Subject advised that he would discuss his future plans with someone in the State Department. This matter is being brought to the Bureau's attention at this time, in the event that it should be deemed advisable to receive from the State Department any information regarding Subject's discussion of his proposed plans.

Additional copies are being forwarded herewith, in the event that the Bureau should desire to file same in other related files.

Very truly yours,

Stanley R. Russo  
Vice Consul

SRR:bas  
Encls.

50 JUL 25 1946

*Handwritten notes:*  
Purdy  
W. H. R.  
C. G. R.  
H. R. S.  
J. R. S.

RECORDED

RECORDED  
49-3798-414  
JUL 11 1946

b6  
b7C

*Handwritten:* SRR

*Handwritten:* 50

C  
O  
P  
Y

*101*  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *5/23/00* BY

b6  
b7c

From: EMBASSY PARIS

Date: June 22, 4 p.m. 1946

No.: 155

Code: PARAPHRASE

Received: June 25, 6:40 p.m.

Sent as No. 155 to Rome; No. 245 Moscow; 462 London,  
No. 249 to Berlin.

This morning Earl Browder came to Embassy and requested assistance with view to obtaining permission to proceed, via England, to the United States. Refused to enter into conversation but explained he preferred, before making any declaration, to wait until he had been able to establish contact with Department of State. Added he would be willing to discuss his plans with someone in Department.

Likewise he refused to talk with British Transport Control Office officers. Alleges he has neither conferred nor seen any Frenchmen, including members of Party.

British have consented, under instructions from London, to allow him to proceed via London to the United States, on the condition that, pending flight of the plane to the US, he remain at the airport.

CAFFERY

COPIES DESTROYED

342 OCT 5 1970

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**

Best Copy Available

URGENT  
CODE

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

[JULY 10, 1946]

Transmit the following message to SAC, NEW YORK

EARL BROWDER; INTERNAL SECURITY - C. BROWDER TO BE INTERVIEWED BY RUSSIAN DESK,  
STATE DEPARTMENT, FRIDAY A.M., JULY TWELVE. MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH ESTABLISHED  
SOURCES TO DETERMINE IF BROWDER HAS ULTERIOR MOTIVES OR PLANS OF INTEREST TO BUREAU.  
SUTEL IMMEDIATELY ANY PERTINENT INFORMATION UPON RECEIPT.

HOOVER

b6  
b7C

EHW:MIP

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

DECLASSIFIED ON  
5/23/00

*enc. 10/1*

CLASSIFIED BY  
DECLASSIFY  
3/8/99

[REDACTED]

REC'D  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
JUL 11 5 17 PM '46

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

JUL 11 1946

63 JUL 22 1946

SENT VIA

11:06 P M

Per

## OFFICE MEMORANDUM \* UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

Best Copy Available

DATE: July 10, 1946

FROM : D. M. Ladd

b7D

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

ESPIONAGE - R  
(EARL BROWDER)

I thought you would be interested in the attached article by John O'Donnell which appeared in the "Washington Times Herald" on July 4, 1946, and concerned Earl Browder's receipt of a passport in order to travel to the Soviet Union. The article states that a deal was made between Browder and the State Department and the Bureau whereby Browder agreed to turn over all of his records concerning Communists, especially those employed in high Governmental positions, to the Bureau in order that he could obtain his American passport. This statement is entirely untrue in so far as the Bureau is concerned.

Confidential Informant [REDACTED] has advised the New York Office that on the afternoon of July 8, 1946, she met William Browder, Earl Browder's brother, and he mentioned the article prepared by John O'Donnell which also appeared in the "New York Daily News" dated July 4, 1946. Concerning this article, William Browder stated that Earl and himself were quite upset about the publicity and that he, William Browder, had talked to some newspaper man whom he described as a friend of his who indicated that the article was libelous. William Browder stated that he had anticipated taking this matter up with a lawyer with the possibility of suing John O'Donnell; however, he indicated that Earl Browder had never sued anyone before and therefore he could not state at this time whether a suit would actually be instituted.

b7D

## ACTION:

None. The foregoing is for your information.

Attachment

FLJ:EW

RECORDED I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3-25-83 BY [REDACTED]

4 JUL 12 1946

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 6 - 5442

b6  
b7C

C.N. 217596

52 JUL 24 1946 11-28/88

# 15-112

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 20 1946

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK 20 28 8-25 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

*W. J. [unclear]*

*[Signature]*

*no* *Earl Browder* \*CONF. INET.  
X EARL RUSSELL BROWDER. IS C. CI [ ] ADVISED TODAY THAT SHE MET WILLIAM<sup>b7D</sup>  
\*BROWDER BY APPOINTMENT YESTERDAY AND SPENT APPROXIMATELY FORTY FIVE  
*7/23* MINUTES WITH HIM, ON WHICH OCCASION SHE GAVE HIM AN ADDITIONAL THREE  
HUNDRED DOLLARS, PART OF THE FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY  
REQUESTED FROM JOHN H. REYNOLDS. BROWDER ADVISED THAT HE HAD MET  
HIS BROTHER EARL AT THE AIRPORT WEDNESDAY LAST AND DROVE HIM TO HIS HOME,  
BUT THAT HE HAD BEEN UNABLE TO HAVE ANY DETAILED CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM  
AS YET. BILL STATED HOWEVER THAT EARL'S TRIP HAD BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL,  
THAT HE HAD BEEN WELL RECEIVED IN RUSSIA, THAT HE HAD BEEN A GUEST OF THE  
RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT DURING HIS STAY THERE WITH ALL EXPENSES WHILE  
THERE DEFRAIDED BY THE RUSSIANS. *34* THAT EARL HAD BEEN GIVEN CARTE  
BLANCHE BY THE RUSSIANS FOR ANY FUTURE ACTIVITY. ALSO THAT HE WOULD HAVE  
THE TACIT SUPPORT OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IN WHATEVER POLICY HE PURSUED  
TOWARDS WILLIAM Z. FOSTER AND THE LATTERS' CLIQUE, BUT THAT OBVIOUSLY  
THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT COULD NOT PUBLICLY PROCLAIM ITS SUPPORT OF HIM.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [ ]

END PAGE ONE *n*

63 JUL 23 1946

*520*  
*Mr. Ladd*

b6  
b7C



PAGE TWO

HE STATED IN ADDITION THAT EARL IS UNDECIDED AS TO FUTURE POLICY BUT FELT THAT REMNANTS OF THE CP USA WERE BEYOND REHABILITATION AND THAT HE MIGHT START AN ENTIRELY NEW POLITICAL PARTY. FURTHER, THAT EARL HAD SECURED A FAVORABLE AND FINANCIALLY ADVANTAGEOUS FIVE YEAR CONTRACT FOR EXCLUSIVE US HANDLING OF SOVIET PUBLICATIONS AND THAT HE PROBABLY WOULD RESORT TO COURT ACTION AGAINST ALEXANDER ~~TR~~ TRACHTENBERG AND THE LATTERS FIRM OF ~~INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.~~ IF SATISFACTORY ARRANGMENTS COULD NOT BE MADE. BILL INDICATED THAT EARL HAD DECIDED TO DRIVE TRACHTENBERG OUT OF BUSINESS AND THERE IS CLEARLY NO POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION BETWEEN BROWDER AND THE FACTION WHICH OUSTED HIM. [REDACTED] b7D WAS UNABLE TO LEARN IDENTITIES OF ANY INDIVIDUALS WHOM EARL SAW IN RUSSIA. BILL ALSO INFORMED HER THAT BECAUSE OF GREAT AMOUNT OF PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC FUROR OVER HIS TRIP ~~REDACTED~~ ~~REDACTED~~ EARL WAS GOING TO BE MOST CAREFUL IN THE FUTURE IN MEETING PEOPLE AND WAS GOING TO SEE ONLY THOSE PERSONS WHO COULD COME TO THE OFFICE OF ~~DISTRIBUTORS~~ GUIDE, INC., ON OSTENSIBLY LEGITIMATE BUSINESS. [REDACTED] SAID BILL INDICATED THAT EARL FELT HE WAS b7D GOING TO BE OBJECT OF CLOSE SCRUTINY BOTH BY NEWSPAPERS AND THIS GOVERNMENT FOR SOME MONTHS TO COME, AND THAT HE WAS GOING TO GOVERN HIS ACTIONS

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ACCORDINGLY. [ ] SEES NO POSSIBILITY OF EARLY MEETING WITH EARL b7D  
BUT WILL CONTINUE TO SEE BILL ON FREQUENT OCCASIONS. BILL ALSO INFORMED

[ ] THAT EARL COMMENTED THAT THE USSR WAS IN VERY BAD CONDITION  
EXCEPT FOR THE ARMY AND THE COMMISSARIAT OF HEAVY INDUSTRY, DECLARING  
THAT THE MALE POPULATION HAD BEEN GREATLY DECIMATED BY THE WAR AND THAT  
TRANSPORTATION AND AGRICULTURE ESPECIALLY WERE DISORGANIZED AND AT AN  
EXTREMELY LOW LEVEL OF EFFICIENCY. MADE NO COMMENT ON RUSSIAN FEELING,  
OFFICIAL OR OTHERWISE, TOWARDS US.

CONROY

HOLD PLS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF  
COMMUNICATIONS

JUL 1 1946

TELETYPE

34  
Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

WASH FROM NEW YORK 21 1 5-38 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

710  
HOS3 Earl Browder \*  
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER. IS C. INFORMANT [ ] TODAY ADVISED THAT IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH ARRANGEMENTS PREVIOUSLY MADE, SHE, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN  
H. REYNOLDS, WENT TO THE HOME OF BILL BROWDER, WHERE THEY MET EARL  
BROWDER, BILL BROWDER, AND HIS WIFE ROSE BROWDER OF JUNE THIRTIETH.  
SHE SPENT APPROXIMATELY TWO HOURS IN THEIR COMPANY AND COMMENTED THAT  
THROUGHOUT EARL SEEMED VERY CAUTIOUS IN HIS STATEMENTS, ENGAGED IN  
GREAT DEAL OF INNUNDO, AND WAS EVASIVE ABOUT WHAT HE HAD BEEN ABLE TO  
ACCOMPLISH SPECIFICALLY FOR REYNOLDS CO., THE United States SERVICE AND SHIPPING  
CORPORATION WHILE IN MOSCOW. HE DID INDICATE HOWEVER IT WOULD BE VERY AD-  
VISABLE FOR REYNOLDS TO PROCEED TO MOSCOW IN NEAR FUTURE AS HE HINTED  
BROADLY THAT WORTHWHILE FINANCIAL AND CUSTOMER CONCESSIONS WOULD VERY  
LIKELY BE MADE BY USSR IF REYNOLDS CONFERRED PERSONALLY THERE WITH  
RUSSIAN OFFICIALS. BROWDER DID NOT IDENTIFY BY NAME ANY INDIVIDUAL WITH  
WHOM HE SPOKE IN MOSCOW. MADE NO COMMENT WHATSOEVER ABOUT HIS OPINION  
OR IMPRESSIONS GAINED THERE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN USA AND USSR, BUT DID  
STATE THAT TRIP WAS MOST SUCCESSFUL AND EXHIBITED TO INFORMANT HIS  
COPY OF CONTRACT NAMING HIM EXCLUSIVE US AGENT FOR ALL SOVIET PUB-  
LICATIONS, HIS COMPENSATION TO BE TWENTY FIVE PERCENT OF FIRST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/3/99 BY [ ]

END PAGE ONE  
39 JUL 22 1946

b6  
b7C

PAGE TWO

FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS GROSS BUSINESS, TEN PERCENT ON NEXT SIXTY THOUSAND DOLLARS OF BUSINESS, AND FIVE PERCENT ON ALL REMAINING BUSINESS. EARL CLAIMED TO HAVE DISASSOCIATED HIMSELF FROM POLITICS, STATED HIS ACTIVITIES WOULD BE THOSE OF AN ORDINARY BUSINESSMAN, AND DID NOT COMMENT AT ALL ABOUT STATEMENT BILL BROWDER HAD MADE TO INFORMANT JUNE TWENTY SEVENTH THAT EARL WAS GOING TO WAGE VIGOROUS FIGHT AGAINST FOSTER AND HIS CLIQUE. INFORMANT MENTIONED THAT THROUGHOUT CONFERENCE LAST EVENING<sup>N</sup> ATMOSPHERE WAS SOMEWHAT TENSE AND BROWDER WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT IN A RECEPTIVE MOOD TO ANY PERSONAL OR CONSEQUENTIAL INQUIRIES ABOUT HIMSELF. ON A COUPLE OF OCCASIONS DURING THE EVENING EARL ATTEMPTED TO ENGAGE IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH REYNOLDS, SUBJECT MATTER OF SUCH CONVERSATION UNKNOWN AT PRESENT TIME TO INFORMANT, BUT LATTER FEELS BROWDER IS TRYING TO CIRCUMVENT HER AND SUBJECT REYNOLDS COMPLETELY TO HIS INFLUENCE. INFORMANT BELIEVES RUSSIANS DEFINITELY HAVE DESIGNS ON CONTROLLING REYNOLDS AND HIS BUSINESS TO BE EXPLOITED AS A FRONT INASMUCH AS THEY KNOW EXPANSION OF BUSINESS IS CONTEMPLATED AND IT MIGHT WELL SERVE AS A GOOD COVER FOR THEIR PERSONNEL. EARL WAS VERY ENIGMATIC<sup>N</sup> THROUGHOUT THE EVENING, BUT INFORMANT IS OF DEFINITE IMPRESSION

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

THAT HE HAS FORMULATED PLANS FOR HIS FUTURE ACTIVITY ALTHOUGH ONLY COMMENT HE MADE IN THIS REGARD WAS THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SOME "PUBLICIZING" AND THAT IF PEOPLE WERE ATTRACTED TO HIS LEADERSHIP HE OF COURSE COULD NOT HELP THAT. ON INFORMANTS VISIT WITH BILL BROWDER AFTERNOON OF JUNE TWENTY EIGHTH HE INFORMED HER THAT HE AND EARL WOULD NEED TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS A MONTH FOR THE NEXT SIX MONTHS TO DEFRAY EXPENSES, AND UPON INFORMANTS COMMUNICATING THIS REQUEST TO REYNOLDS, LATTER AGREED TO PROVIDE REQUESTED SUMS. INFORMANT HAS NO PLANS AT PRESENT TO SEE EITHER EARL OR BILL AGAIN, AND FROM PRESENT APPEARANCES IT SEEMS INFORMANT WILL GET MORE INFO CONCERNING EARL FROM BILL THAN FROM EARL HIMSELF. IT IS CONTEMPLATED THAT EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO HAVE INFORMANT MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH BILL AS CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT.

CONROY

*c.c. Mc. S. S.*

HOLD PLS

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : D. M. Ladd

FROM : E. G. Fitch

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

DATE: July 12,  
1946

Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Mumford  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Beahm  
Miss Gandy

Captain Tolley, ONI, while discussing other matters, advised Agent Doherty that Earl Browder was to have a conference with Llewelyn Thompson of the State Department on July 11 at 3:00 PM. According to Captain Tolley, the purpose of this conference was to discuss Browder's private enterprise in the United States. Captain Tolley stated that Thompson has been in charge of the Middle European Section of the State Department for the past two months and prior thereto was First Secretary of the American Embassy in Moscow.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that the above information be forwarded to the Internal Security Section for the attention of Mr. Whitson.

JFD:OME .

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

EX-5024631 JUL 16 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY

50 JUL 24 1946

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

**F.B.I. TELETYPE**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

[DECODED COPY]

Mr. Tolson ☒ b6  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☒ b7C  
Mr. Clegg ☒  
Mr. Glavin ☒  
Mr. Ladd ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tracy ☒  
Mr. Carson ☒  
Mr. Egan ☒  
Mr. Gurnea ☒  
Mr. Harbo ☒  
Mr. Hendon ☒  
Mr. Pennington ☒  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

WASHINGTON 8 NEWARK 1 FROM NEW YORK

12 4:48 PM

DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, IS C. BROWDER HOME AT YONKERS CLOSED FOR  
SUMMER. TELEPHONE SERVICE DISCONTINUED. CALLS ORDERED TRANSFERRED  
TO YONKERS 3-4493, LISTED TO GRACE IDA SMILEY,  
YONKERS, WIFE OF RALPH W. BROWDER, A BROTHER. EARL BROWDER AND  
FAMILY AT SUMMER HOME OF [REDACTED] IN BERGEN COUNTY,  
NEW JERSEY, JUST ACROSS STATE LINE FROM HILLBURN AND SUFFERN, ROCK-  
LAND COUNTY, NY, FROM WHICH TOWNS THERE IS BUS AND RAILROAD SERVICE.  
THIS HOME AND IMMEDIATE VICINITY LACK ELECTRIC SERVICE BUT TELEPHONE  
SERVICE REPORTED APPLIED FOR. [REDACTED] AT THE SUMMER  
HOME WITH THE BROWDERS ALSO FAMILY OF [REDACTED] NEIGHBORS  
AND FAMILY APPARENTLY REMAINING AT 38 WEST 9TH. ST. APARTMENT, NYC  
FOR THE SUMMER. NEWARK NOT BEING REQUESTED TO MAKE SURVEY FOR  
POSSIBLE TECHNICAL COVERAGE DUE TO NON-PRODUCTIVITY IN THE PAST.

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]

CONROY

NK HOLD PLS  
WA ACK AND HOLD  
NY R 7-8 WA

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3

2/22/99

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

RECEIVED:

[7-12-46]

3:58 PM EST

Classified by [REDACTED]

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification: 1 Jul 99

EFG/EGM 5/25/77

**CONFIDENTIAL**

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Classification

DATE 10/27/71

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated  
outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in  
order to protect the Bureau's coding systems.

52 JUL 29 1946 (u)

TELETYPE

WASH AND WASH FIELD FROM NEW YORK 16 11 6-20

DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

710  
[REDACTED] ESPIONAGE R. REFER FIVE IS. REFER BUREAU TELETYPE CONCERNING  
STATE DEPT. INTERVIEW OF EARL BROWDER. CI- [REDACTED] LEARNED IN MEETING  
TODAY WITH WILLIAM BROWDER THAT EARL HAD BEEN REQUESTED BY STATE DEPT.  
TO APPEAR IN WASHINGTON JULY FIFTEENTH NEXT ON "ROUTINE" MATTER INVOLVING  
HIS NEW CONTRACT ENTERED INTO WHILE IN MOSCOW TO REPRESENT SOVIET  
PUBLICATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY. WILLIAM BROWDER INDICATED PURPOSE OF CON-  
FERENCE APPARENTLY WAS TO DETERMINE WHETHER BECAUSE OF EARL'S SEC-  
URING SUCH CONTRACT HE WOULD BECOME SUBJECT TO REGISTRATION ACT. HE  
TOLD [REDACTED] THAT HE WAS DEPARTING WITH EARL FROM NYC EVENING OF JULY  
FOURTEENTH FOR WASHINGTON AND THAT THEY EXPECTED TO BE OCCUPIED MOST  
OF THE DAY WITH THE STATE DEPT. [REDACTED] ALSO LEARNED THAT EARL HAS MOVED  
HIS ENTIRE FAMILY TO HOME OF JOSEPHINE ADAMS AT HILLBURN, NEAR SUFFERN,  
NY, FOR THE SUMMER, THAT HE SPENDS WEEKENDS THERE BUT IS CONTINUING TO  
OCCUPY HIS APARTMENT IN YONKERS DURING THE WEEK AND COMMUTES DAILY  
TO NYC OFFICE OF DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. BILL INDICATED THAT EARL  
END PAGE ONE

b7D

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

327

1

JUL 18 1946

50 JUL 24 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/22/99 BY [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C



PAGE TWO

WAS VERY ANXIOUS TO AVOID REGISTRATION AS AGENT OF FOREIGN PRINCIPAL. //  
[ ] WAS UNABLE TO LEARN ANY FURTHER DETAILS OF BROWERS PROPOSED <sup>b7D</sup>  
RADIO BROADCAST OVER MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM TEN THIRTY PM JULY FIF-  
TEENTH NEXT OR OF PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH BILL HAD MENTIONED TO HER IN  
PREVIOUS MEETING.

CONROY

HOLD PLS

*He should certainly be  
He should certainly be  
required to register  
required to register.*

*B.*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 12 1946

TELETYPE

b6  
b7C

*Log* *DL*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*  
DATE *10/17/77*

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 5 12 3-20 PM

DIRECTOR ..... URGENT

CONF. INET.

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, IS C. CI NYT FIFTY FOUR DISCONTINUED  
TEN AM JULY TWELVE AS SUBJECT HAS CLOSED HOME FOR SUMMER  
AND WILL BE VISITING IN VICINITY HILLBURN, NY FOR SUMMER. D

CONROY 4

LST WD DISCONTINUED IN LINE 1

END

NY R 5 WA

V

Classified by [REDACTED]  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification: definite

EFQ/EGM 5/25/77

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

40-3798-423  
JUL 17 1946  
5-9-85

EX-15

3042-101/ang

cc: Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

58 JUL 24 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. D. M. Ladd *D*

FROM : E. G. Fitch *E. G. Fitch*

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER  
SECURITY MATTER - R

DATE: June 19, 1946

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Clegg ☒  
Mr. Coffey ☒  
Mr. Glavin ☒  
Mr. Ladd ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tracy ☒  
Mr. Carson ☒  
Mr. Egan ☒  
Mr. Gurnea ☒  
Mr. Harbo ☒  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

*W. H. Ladd*

Mr. Jack Neal of the State Department informed Mr. Roach on June 19, 1946, that the Department had received information that at the time Browder left on his trip to the U.S.S.R. he had in his possession approximately 200 million dollars worth of American contracts which he intended to turn over to appropriate business firms in the U.S.S.R. Mr. Neal stated that the veracity of this information was not known and therefore it would be appreciated if the Bureau, through appropriate informants, could check the matter in New York City.

The State Department is vitally interested in this matter and for that reason desires confirmation of the above-mentioned facts or information which would in effect disprove them.

RECOMMENDATION

It is suggested that this memorandum be referred to the Internal Security Section for information and such action as deemed appropriate.

*RR:VPS*

RECORDED

EX - 30

40-3798-424  
JUL 17 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/26/99

105  
JUL 24 1946

b6  
b7C

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR *Tamm*

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*

SUBJECT: Earl Russell Browder  
Internal Security - C

DATE: July 10, 1946

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

The Liaison Section has been advised by Mr. Jack Neal of the Department of State that Earl Browder will be interviewed Friday morning, July 12, 1946, by Mr. Stevens of the Russian Desk in the Department of State. The Bureau, while not being asked to sit in on the interview, has been requested to submit any questions which it might desire asked of Browder at the time of his interview.

I am accordingly having prepared a series of general questions which, if you approve, will be given to Mr. Jack Neal for possible use at the interview with Browder. These generally will concern Browder's principals in the Soviet Union in connection with his proposed venture into the publishing and distributing of Soviet literature. Other questions will deal generally with the identities of the persons with whom he will be affiliated while still others will concern the identities of persons with whom he was in contact in the Soviet Union.

In connection with the proposed interview of Browder by the Department of State, I thought you would like to know that Mr. James McInerney of the Criminal Division of the Department telephonically advised the Bureau that this interview would take place. Mr. McInerney stated that he wanted to inform the Bureau in this regard pursuant to a request contained in a Bureau memorandum concerning Browder that the Bureau be advised in advance in the event any action were to be taken against Browder under the Registration Act. Mr. McInerney stated that Mr. Stevens, during the interview with Browder, will advise Browder of his duties and obligations of registering as an agent of a foreign principal in the event he engages in this publishing and distributing business.

Recommendation:

I recommend that you grant approval for the Bureau to supply the general questions to the Department of State which can then be posed to Browder.

EHW:BPA

RECORDED

EX - 80

37 JUL 16 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

57 JUL 24 1946

140-3798-425  
FBI  
JUL 16 1946  
*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

b6  
b7c

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd

FROM : J. C. Strickland

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

DATE: July 11, 1946

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Attached are the questions which have been prepared pursuant to the approval of the Director for transmittal to the Department of State and for subsequent use in the interrogation of Browder by Mr. Stevens of the Russian Desk.

## ACTION:

It is recommended that these be made available to Mr. R. Roach for delivery to the Department of State this afternoon, July 11, 1946.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY

Attachment

EEW:EW

b6  
b7C

EX - 80

57 JUL 24 1946

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

140-3798-42

JUL 13 1946

1. Who are the principals with whom you are dealing in your proposed publishing and/or literature distributing business? Please describe:

A. Their background

B. Their government agency or business arrangement (re literature) in the Soviet Union

C. Their official capacity in the Soviet government

D. Their capacity in the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik).

2. What type of literature will you deal with in your proposed venture? Will it be in final form prior to being sent to you in the United States? Will you edit, translate or otherwise change the form of the writings forwarded?

3. What financial arrangements do you have in this venture? Are you on a percentage basis or on a fixed salary basis? How do you propose to transmit funds to the Soviet Union?

4. Who are your associates in the United States who are connected with this venture? Will you please furnish their background, their affiliations, and their current addresses?

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

A. Is your brother, William Browder, affiliated with you in this venture -  
if so, what will be his capacity?

BHW:EW

7/11/46

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY #

b6  
b7C

B. Will your sister, Margaret ~~Browder~~, be affiliated with you in this venture and if so in what capacity?

C. What part does Abraham A. ~~Heller~~ have in this arrangement and what relation did his trip to the Soviet Union and elsewhere in Europe have with your trip?

5. How far have you progressed in setting up the organizational structure of your new venture? Where is it to be located and what publishing or printing concern will you utilize?

6. How does your proposed venture affect the ~~Four~~ Continent Book Corporation, the Sovfoto (Soviet Photograph Agency), Helen ~~Black's~~ present agency relationship with regard to unpublished manuscripts or other types of literature and illustrative material, and the ~~American~~ Russian Institute?


7. Do you contemplate furnishing material written or published in the United States to the Soviet Union or any agency of the Soviet Union or any organization or individuals in the Soviet Union? If so, what will be the nature of this documentary material?

8. Does your new venture contemplate the furnishing of mailing lists to representatives of the Soviet Union or any agency or organization therein?
9. Does your venture contemplate furnishing to or receiving literature from Communist Parties of foreign countries for translation and distribution?
10. Do you contemplate representing any other persons or organizations in other foreign countries in a similar manner?
11. Does your agency relationship with your foreign principals contemplate work by you or your representatives in Canada or other nations in the Western Hemisphere?



Best Copy Available

1. With whom did you confer either on a personal or business basis in the Soviet Union or elsewhere in Europe? Please identify their background, their present official capacities either in their respective governments or in the Communist Parties to which they belong?
2. With which of the above named individuals or with any other individuals did you discuss your differences with William Z. ~~Foster~~, Eugene ~~Dennis~~, and the present national leadership of the Communist Party, U.S.A? What was the substance of your discussions and what, if any, decisions were made with respect to your status in the ~~Communist~~ Movement in the United States?
3. What affect did your present or proposed status with regard to the Communist Movement in the United States have upon the establishment of your present agency relationship as discussed previously in this conversation?
4. Will your new venture furnish literature, books, and pamphlets for use by the Communist Party in this country in their educational program among:
  - A. Party members
  - B. Nonparty members?

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY 

b6  
b7C

5. While in the Soviet Union, did you in discussions with Soviet officials, officials of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), or with representatives of the Communist movement in other countries clarify any existing agreements which you have been operating under, accept any new responsibilities, or receive an offer of new responsibilities from such individuals other than those specifically contemplated in your present discussed venture?

6. With regard to your conversations with S. A. Losovsky, will you go into detail as to your previous contacts and associations with him from 1921 to date?

7. By virtue of your long standing in the Communist Party, U.S.A. and your knowledge of the contents of currently published Party literature and the statements of the present leaders of the Party in this country, will you state your opinion of the following with respect to the Communist Party, U.S.A.:

- A. The maintenance by the Party of a conspiratorial apparatus and the identities of those who have participated in the activities of such an apparatus.
- B. The maintenance by the Party of an underground organization within the United States Government.
- C. The identities of the leaders and members of any such underground organization within the United States Government.

Best Copy Available

- D. What direct or indirect channels of liaison exist between the Communist Party in this country and the official representatives of the Soviet Union in this country?
- E. What direction is exercised over the activities of the Communist Party in this country by officials of the Soviet Union or of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)?
- F. What contact, direct or indirect, does the Communist Party, U.S.A., have with the other Communist Parties of the world, particularly France, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Spain, Italy, China?



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York 7, New York



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. 100-25693

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF Classification

DATE 10/17/77

Classified by [redacted]

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

EFG/EGM 5/25/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 22, 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

RE: EARL R. BROWDER, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

There is transmitted herewith for the information of the Bureau a two page log of conversation reported by ~~Confidential Informant~~ NYT 3, whose identity is known to the Bureau, on June 27, 1946 between ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, Manager of INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS INC. and CLINTON SIMPSON of the ALFRED KNOPF PUBLISHING COMPANY. It will be noted that SIMPSON sought instructions from TRACHTENBERG on what, "I should do about...dealing with Mr. BROWDER on Soviet books". To this TRACHTENBERG responded, "I don't know yet myself anything about it". SIMPSON mentioned that they were dealing with HELEN BLACK, who, as the head of SOVFOTO, is a registered Agent. It appears that the parties in their conference speculated on are future relationships; in view of the contract which BROWDER had made in Moscow on his recent visit to the Soviet Union. It is evident that as of June 27, 1946, ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG did not know the contents of such contracts or the future course to be followed. 4

The "New York Times" of July 17, 1946 contained an account of an interview had on July 16, 1946 with BROWDER in his office at 55 West 42nd Street. The following paragraphs pertinent to this case are set out for the information of the Bureau: 4

"As to his own part in achieving better understanding, Mr. B Browder pictured himself as a bibliophile who would seek to create this basis through the publishing and exchange of Soviet and American books. 4

"In this connection, it was learned that Mr. Browder undertook his recent six-week visit to Russia with no idea of becoming the official Soviet publishers' representative in this country. He went, it was learned on good authority, merely because he wanted to satisfy himself that he was still persona grata with the Soviet despite his altered status here. 4

"However, in addition to 'renewing contacts' and visiting old friends on his fifteenth visit to Russia in twenty-five years, he came away with a five-year contract with OGIZ, successor in the last two years to GOSIZDAT, the Soviet Government Printing House, which embraces all 4

RECORDED COPY FILED IN

b6  
b7C

4

100-3798-457

EX-22

RECORDED & INDEXED

JUL 24 1946

EX-22

59 AUG 10 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-25693

"Russian publishing houses. The contract contains provisions for renewal and for a three-month notice of termination by either party. U

"Mr. Browder brought with him a 'representative book list' of eighty-six titles subdivided into the general categories of political literature, scientific publications and art volumes. Children's books make up a fourth category." U

The Bureau will be kept advised of any developments in this matter. U

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*  
E. E. CONROY,  
Special Agent in Charge

encls. (2)

cc: NY 100-21421  
100-60796

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NYT 3  
INCOMING

6/27/46  
10:55 AM

U-3652-6  
TO: TRACHTENBERG (PH)  
FROM: CLINTON SIMPSON (PH)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

T: Oh, hello, hello there.  
S: How are you?

T: Fine, and yourself?  
S: Why fine, I'm hot right now.

T: Yeah, well so all of us.  
S: I want to ask you what I should do about....uh...uh....dealing with Mr. BROWDER on Soviet books.

T: I don't know...I don't know yet myself anything about it. Why are you...  
uh.....you have to deal....so far you are dealing with...uh...  
S: HELEN BLACK (ph).

T: HELEN BLACK. We usually continue dealing with HELEN BLACK.  
S: Well, that's what I wondered.

T: Yeah...she's...uh..the...she's just came back with a contract too...ha.ha..  
S: Yeah.

24 T: Well, I don't know...sometime maybe I think we can find out. We don't know  
the deals she...or she doesn't know even herself.  
S: Yeah.

T: But she'll get...she'll get information.  
S: Yeah.

T: Because she left just before the business started there and there's  
possibility the...uh...certain type only of a book, you know.  
S: Yes. Well...that's...that's the way it sounds.

T: Probably handling more than...uh...well I don't know...it's one of  
those economics maybe...(ind.)...in other words she definitely handles  
all literary and all manuscripts.  
S: Yeah.

T: See?  
S: I see.

Classified by [redacted]  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

EEG/EGM 5725/77  
40-3798-427

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

T: He's probably handling books that are already published, you know?  
S: Yeah.

T: In manuscripts.  
S: Yeah, and it sounds as if he has only...has certain publishing houses to recommend.

T: Yeah, that's right. You see she represents the authors...all the authors.  
S: Yeah.

T: While...uh...you know...certainly known the kind of things that interest us...you know?  
S: Yeah.

T: But he may think of some scientific or some other...I don't know, it's mentioned in the paper that Union Publishing House this and that... I don't know...it's...it's all about until we find out all the details about it.  
S: Yeah, well, I would like to talk to you one of these days about it when you know some more about it.

T: Sure...sure...sure enough...sure enough...very glad to...very glad.. very glad to see you.  
S: Yeah, I would like to see you.

T: Sure.  
S: Well, I'll give you a ring.

T: Give me a ring and we'll get together...sure enough.  
S: Alright, fine.

T: Very glad to.  
S: Thank you very much.

T: Alright, yeah...goodbye.

- END -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, New York ~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 12, 1946

40-378-729  
Director, FBI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORDED

EX-7


EARL RUSSEL BROWDER, was  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(Technical Surveillance - NYT-54)

Reference is made to Form PD-143 forwarded to the Bureau by your office under date of July 2, 1946.

The Bureau feels that this installation should be continued for at least thirty days in order to determine whether Browder will be using his home telephone to carry on conversations which will undoubtedly be of interest to the Bureau.

Accordingly, authority is granted for the continued use of this installation for another thirty days. At the end of this time, you should promptly submit Form PD-143 in order to justify the continued use of this technical installation.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Classification*  
DATE 10/17/77

Classified by   
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
GFG/EGM 5/25/77

b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5-9-85  


BHW:edm

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Gandy

AUG 5 1946

154





United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York 7, New York



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO  
FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF *Justification*  
DATE *10/17/77*

July 1, 1946  
~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

**'EARL BROWDER**

Re: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, was.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
NEW YORK  
NYT 54  
TECHNICAL

Dear Sir:

Enclosed will find copies of Justification for Continuation of

*X-0.7*  
*NEW*  
NYT 54.

DECLASSIFIED BY *[redacted]*  
BY *[redacted]*

Very truly yours,

*E. E. Conroy*

E. E. CONROY  
Special Agent in Charge

b6  
b7C

*rec'd 7/1/46*  
Classified by *[redacted]*  
Exempt from GDS, Category *2*  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
*EFG/EGW 5/25/77*

Encls. (2)

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED  
*73*  
EX-4

*40-3798-429*  
*22 1946*

GJS:AO

*Let. NY/C*  
*7/12/46*  
*9/11/46*  
*2/1/47*  
*EX-4*

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation



IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUATION OF TECHNICAL  
OR MICROPHONE SURVEILLANCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 2, 1946

RE: Title EARL RUSSEL BROWDER, was.

Character of Case INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Field Office New York  
Symbol Number NYT 54  
Type of Surveillance: (Technical or  
Microphone) Technical

## 1. Subject's name and address:

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
7 Highland Place  
Yonkers, 7, N.Y.

## 2. Location of technical operation:

Sutec

Classified by    
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
EFG/EGM 5/25/77

b6  
b7C

## 3. Dates of initial authorization and installation:

Reinstalled April 25, 1946.

## 4. Previous and other installations on the same subject (with dates and places):

Same Address - August 18, 1942 to December 12, 1942

Same Address - March 23, 1945 to June 29, 1945

Same Address - April 25, 1946 - continuing

b6  
b7C

COPIES DESTROYED

342 OCT 5 1970

## 5. Specific valuable information obtained since previous report with indication of specific value of each item and what use was made of each item of information involved:

May 4 - Mrs. Browder received cable announcing Browder's arrival at Leningrad and intention to leave for Moscow on following morning. Bureau notified by teletype May 4, 1946.

May 6 - Mrs. Browder received cable of Browder's arrival at Moscow. Bureau notified by teletype May 6, 1946.

(Continued)

ENCLOSURE 40-3798-429

DECLASSIFIED ON    
BY

Item 5 Continued

May 9 - Mrs. Browder discussed letter received from New Zealand addressed to Browder seeking to retain him in some capacity. Bureau informed of this in letter of May 27, 1946.

May 27 - Mrs. Browder discusses letter from Browder in which he tells of farms he visited and about sports in Russia.

June 7 - Abraham ~~Heller~~ discusses his coming departure for Russia and that he expects to meet ~~Laski~~, the Englishman; also that Heller was talking along copy of radio talk by ~~William Z. Foster~~ which makes reference to 3rd World Wars. Bureau notified of Heller's contemplated departure.

June 12 - Mrs. Browder said had information Heller was in Stockholm on previous day.

June 17 - Mrs. Browder discusses letter from Heller dated June 11th, saying he spent two days in London and that he was going to Russia via Helsinki, the route Browder took.

June 27 - Mrs. Browder discusses information that Heller is now in France and will leave there in two or three weeks. Bureau notified by teletype July 1, 1946, suggesting State Department request Embassy at Paris to report details of Heller's movements, plans and departure.

6. Could above information have been obtained from other sources and by other means? Some of it could have been obtained from the daily press. Other was obtainable only through this surveillance, the value of which was doubtful. Much of the information acted upon by Mrs. Browder and members of the family would appear to have been taken from the daily press and was misleading when received through this surveillance in that it did not represent direct authentic information on Browder's movements.

7. Has security factor changed since installation?

No

8. Any request for the surveillance by outside agency (give name, title and agency):

No

9. Manpower and costs involved:

Handled thru Sutee

84  
10. Remarks (By SAC):

This surveillance was not productive of much valuable information during the months of May and June. This may in part be due to the absence of Earl Russell Browder from the United States during the period April 26th to June 26th. Now that Browder has returned it is recommended this surveillance be continued for one month to determine whether information obtained will justify further continuation of the surveillance.

11. Remarks (added at Seat of Government):

While this technical surveillance has not been too productive in the past month, it is believed that this installation should be continued for the period of at least one more month in order to determine whether Browder will use his home telephone as it will be recalled Browder just recently returned from the Soviet Union and in view of the information received from Informant [redacted] it is felt that undoubtedly Browder will engage in important and significant activity not only with respect to the Communist Party - USA, but also as regards Soviet activity in the United States. b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12. Recommendation by Assistant Director:

In view of the foregoing and since Browder has only recently returned to the United States, I recommend that this surveillance be continued for at least one more month.

ACTION:

If you concur, there is attached for approval a communication directed to the New York Field Division granting authority for the continuance of this technical installation for the additional period of thirty days. *BR*

*84*  
Attachment *PK*

13. Recommendation by the Assistants to the Director:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: July 25, 1946

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

You will recall that the Bureau prepared and submitted to the Department of State questions to be utilized in the questioning of Earl Browder by members of the Department of State, on the occasion of Browder's visit to Washington, D. C. for the purpose of an interview at the Department of State.

The results of the interview with Browder, which was conducted by Mr. Llewellyn E. Thompson and Mr. Francis B. Stevens, have been made available to the Bureau. These results reflect that little, if any, use was made of the questions prepared by the Bureau.

The interview took place on July 15, 1946, and a photostatic copy of the results is attached. Briefly, it might be stated that the major portion of the interview with Browder concerned his contract with the official governmental publishing houses of the Soviet Union. A copy of the contractual agreement setting up Browder as an agent on a percentage basis with these two publishing houses, has also been made available. The two publishing houses are the United State Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (OGIZ) and the State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (ISKUSTVO). In the contractual agreement, Browder is appointed the representative in the United States for the purpose of publishing books by Soviet and Russian authors in the United States. Browder is given the right to conduct negotiations with firms and individuals and to conclude contracts for the publication of Soviet books. A bureau is to be established in Moscow which will prepare and dispatch literature and manuscripts to Browder, who is to conduct all of his business through this Bureau. Other than the usual stipulations appearing in such a contract, there is a rather interesting financial arrangement whereby Browder will receive a commission on the total income from royalties for a calendar year on the following basis:

Up to \$40,000 - 25%  
Over \$40,000 and under \$100,000 - 40%  
Over \$100,000 - 5%

RECORDED

INDEXED

EX-75

304

JUL 30 1946

Browder, out of the above commission, is to pay for the maintenance of the office in the United States. The contract will last for five years but can be terminated by a six months' notice of any of the parties.

In the interview, Browder said that such already established agencies as the Four Continent Book Corporation and the concern run by Helen Black will deal through him. He stated that the American Communist Party would have to get its printed material through him unless they "pirate it."

55 AUG 13 1946

COPIES DESTROYED

842 OCT 5 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7c

Browder also said that while the matter is not covered by his contract, Soviet authorities expect him to assist them in getting material published in this country for republication in the Soviet Union. In this regard, Browder said that publication of American material in the Soviet Union is to be increased about five times.

Browder went on to say that he had talked to Molotov, who allegedly expressed the hope that Browder would undertake to represent Soviet publishing houses provided the arrangement would not embarrass him, Browder, before the American public. Browder said that he told Molotov that for over twenty years, he, Browder, had been branded as a Soviet agent in the United States and it would cause him no embarrassment to become one.

In the interview, Browder was referred to the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Browder said he had not recently familiarized himself with the law in this regard although he had made a thorough study of it previously when he was General Secretary of the Communist Party. He said that as he recalled, it did not apply to the case of a purely commercial venture. When it was suggested that he might wish to inform the Department of Justice of his arrangement, Browder replied he would take no initiative in the matter. He was then told that the Department of State would, of course, advise the Department of Justice whereupon he said he would be glad to have this done and if the Department of Justice felt registration was required, he was prepared to comply without argument.

As regards Browder's associates, he said that Abraham A. Heller and his brother, William Browder, would be associated with him in the enterprise. His territory is to be exclusively the United States and he is not permitted to operate in Canada.

Besides a discussion of Browder's business arrangement, the State Department representatives asked him if he had any particular comment, which may have arisen out of his recent visit to the Soviet Union. He was also asked if "there were current any particular misunderstandings concerning the United States on the part of Soviet citizens or officials with whom he had come into contact." Browder referred in reply to the importance of better information on both sides and mentioned in particular what he called the "press campaign" in the United States for "getting tough with the Soviet Union." He said there seemed much less talk of war in the Soviet Union than in the United States but that such talk as there was in the Soviet Union arose chiefly from reaction to the line taken in the American press. He then stated that his views on Soviet-American relations are to be published in a series of articles in the "New Republic."

Browder referred to the prominence given by the American press to the "housecleaning" in the Soviet Union (the purging of a number of Soviet industrial officials and the liquidation of states). He said that the press treatment of this subject had been greatly exaggerated and that while there is considerable reorganizing in the Soviet Union under process, it is largely because better talent in Soviet organization had been absorbed in the war effort.

In conclusion, Browder said he had fallen into his business venture by accident since he had gone to the Soviet Union to find out whether or not he was still regarded as a friend and with the idea of writing a few articles. He said he had not even had to discuss the matter as to whether or not he was regarded as friendly since this was self-evident by virtue of his being granted a visa and because of his friendly reception in Moscow. He said that upon his arrival there he found the head of the publishing house of OGIZ was an old friend, Pavel Fedorovich Yudin. (Yudin, you will recall was said by Ambassador Bedell Smith to have been the lecturer on April 17, 1946, in Moscow, who stated that the Soviets must have an army stronger than those of all other powers put together and that until capitalist countries become Communistic, the Soviets will need such an army. Yudin is described as one of the outstanding theoreticians and a member of the Agitation and Propaganda Section of the Central Committee of the All Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks.) According to Browder, Yudin urged him to accept the arrangement in the publishing of Soviet writings.

#### OBSERVATIONS:

From the information which has been developed by the Bureau concerning Browder's trip to the Soviet Union, it would appear that Browder was not at all cooperative or informative in his interview with the Department of State. You will recall that as a result of the baggage and personal effects check made by the Bureau, it was learned that Browder returned to the United States with memoranda and copies of speeches made by himself, William Z. Foster, and other officials of the Communist Party, at the time when he, Browder, was being removed from leadership of the Communist Party during the National Convention in July, 1945. Browder also had some recent pamphlets written by Eugene Dennis, General Secretary, and William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party. These pamphlets were written in March and May, 1946, and were distributed by the Communist Party. It is clearly indicated that by virtue of Browder having such material in his possession on his return to the United States, that he apparently had this material with him to utilize in arguing his point that he, Browder, was correct in his policy in running the Communist Party rather than the present leadership under Foster and Dennis.

~~Confidential~~  
It will also be recalled that Browder advised Informant [ ] that his purpose in going to the Soviet Union was to see those officials with whom he had previously had friendly relations in order to obtain backing in his proposed campaign of regaining his leadership in the Communist Party. Undoubtedly, this subject must have come up while Browder was in Moscow although there have been no indications since his return that he had any success along these lines.

b7D

#### ACTION:

There is attached for approval, a brief memorandum attaching photostatic copies of the results of the interview together with the contractual agreement for transmittal to the Criminal Division. Although the Department of State will undoubtedly make this material available to the Criminal Division, it is believed that the Bureau should forward this information. A request is being made of the



// Criminal Division that the Bureau be advised promptly as to the registration by Browder or any negotiations relative thereto.

*put* A letter is also attached for transmittal to the New York Field Division submitting photostatic copies of this material for appropriate consideration.

Attachments

DAF  
JIN FC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

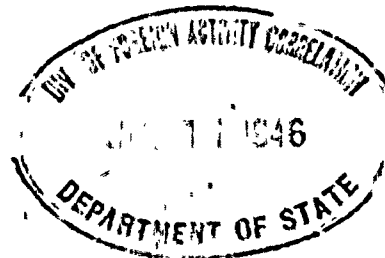
*Memorandum of Conversation*

DATE: July 15, 1946

SUBJECT: Earl Browder's ~~American~~ Agency for Soviet Publishing Houses

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Earl Browder  
Mr. Llewellyn E. Thompson } EE  
Mr. Francis B. Stevens }

COPIES TO: U  
A-B  
FU  
EUR  
EUR/X



Mr. Browder called in accordance with arrangements that had been made at his suggestion by letter. He handed me copies in English and Russian of the contract he had concluded with Soviet publishing houses, stating that he wished the Department to be informed of the nature of the activities in which he proposed to engage.

In response to questions, the following additional information was elicited. He said that Mr. A. A. ~~Heller~~, who is now in Moscow, and his brother, William Browder, would be associated with him in this enterprise. The business is to be that of brokers for Soviet publishing houses, and he will deal in all types of Soviet literature but will not handle magazines. His territory is to be exclusively the United States and he mentioned that he would not even be allowed to operate in Canada. He will not represent any publishing houses other than those in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Browder said he will operate on a commission basis and remittances will be made in dollars through regular banking channels. His headquarters will remain in New York. He will not himself print any Soviet publications but merely place them with publishers. Such agencies as the Four Continents Book Corporation and Helen Black will deal through him. When asked whether the

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

American

b6  
b7C

ENCLOSURE

40-3798-430

Moscow, 18th June 1946

C O N T R A C T

This present contract is concluded between the Soviet  
Publishing Houses:

1. The ~~United~~ State Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (OGIZ) in the person of YUDIN, Pavel Fedorovich, Chairman of the Board of OGIZ,
2. The ~~State~~ Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (ISKUSSTVO) in the person of KUKHARKOV, Nikolai Nikanorovich, and
3. The ~~Publishing~~ House of the Central Council of Trade Unions (PROFIZDAT) in the person of BAVOSTYANOV, Ivan Sergeyevich,

acting jointly or severally and hereinafter entitled the  
SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES, on the one hand, and

MR. EARL BROWDER, on the other hand, to the following  
effect:

1. The SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES appoint Mr. EARL BROWDER their representative in the United States of America for the purpose of publishing books by Soviet and Russian authors in the USA.
2. For the performance of his work in the USA (Article 1) MR. EARL BROWDER will open an office in New York, USA, through which he will acquaint American publishers with books issued in the Soviet Union.
3. The SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES grant MR. EARL BROWDER the right to conduct negotiations with firms and individuals and also to conclude contracts for the publication of Soviet books in the USA on terms which he considers suitable in each individual case.
4. The SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES will establish a BUREAU in Moscow which will prepare and despatch to MR. EARL BROWDER literature and manuscripts for publication in the USA.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY

MR. EARL BROWDER will conduct all his business with the SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES through the aforesaid BUREAU.

5. For the fulfilment of his duties in their entirety, including the maintenance of the office, MR. EARL BROWDER will receive a commission on the total income from royalties per calendar year: .

Up to \$40,000 ..... 25%

Over \$40,000 and under \$100,000 ... 10%

Over \$100,000 ..... 5%

6. MR. EARL BROWDER undertakes to send copies of all contracts he concludes to the BUREAU (Article 4)

Settlement of amounts due to MR. EARL BROWDER will be made exclusively on the basis of the above-mentioned contracts.

7. MR. EARL BROWDER will send a quarterly financial statement to the BUREAU (Article 4)

Expenditure will be considered accepted when the statement is checked and approved, of which the BUREAU will inform MR. EARL BROWDER without delay.

8. The present contract is concluded for a period of 5 (five) years from the date of signature and shall be subject to prolongation unless either party gives notice of renunciation three months before the expiry/of the contract.

NOTE: During the life of the contract, either party has the right to annul it by giving six months notice to this effect to the other party.

9. The present contract is drawn up in the Russian and English languages. In the event of disputes the Russian text alone shall be held valid.
10. Relations between the parties to this contract are regulated by the laws of the USSR.
11. Addresses of the parties:

SOVIET PUBLISHING HOUSES:

OGIZ Moscow, Orlykov Per. 3

ISKUSSTVO Moscow, Tsvetnoi Bul. 26

PROFIZDAT Moscow, Kaluzhsky Chaussee, 68.

MR. EARL BROWDER, 55, West 42nd Street, Room 702,  
New York City 18, New York, USA.

Signed in Moscow this 18th day of June, 1946.

DIRECTOR OF OGIZ \_\_\_\_\_ (Signed)  
(Yudin P.P.)

DIRECTOR OF ~~ISKUSSTVO~~ \_\_\_\_\_ (Signed)  
(Kukharkov N.N.)

DIRECTOR OF ~~PROFIZDAT~~ \_\_\_\_\_ (Signed)  
(Savostyanov I.S.)

EARL BROWDER \_\_\_\_\_ (signed)

WASH FROM NEW YORK 20 17 9-07 PM

DIRECTOR URGENT

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, IS-C. REURTEL JULY SIXTEENTH FORTY SIX. EARL  
BROWDER SPENT DAY AT HIS OFFICE, FIFTY FIVE WEST FORTY SECOND ST., NYC,  
ARRIVING AT NINE AM BY TRAIN FROM SUMMER HOME MAHWAH TOWNSHIP, BERGEN  
COUNTY, NJ AND DEPARTING AT FIVE PM TO RETURN HOME. LEFT OFFICE ALONE  
TO HAVE LUNCH. MADE NO CONTACTS.

HOLD PLS ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/27/99 BY [REDACTED]

CONROY

RECORDED

JUL 30 1946

51 AUG 7 1946

cc: Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Winterrowd

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: July 30, 1946

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
Earl Browder

DECLASSIFIED ON 5-9-85

BY: [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	b6
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	b7C
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Gandy	

You will recall that Browder has returned to the United States with a contractual agreement to represent Soviet national and state publishing houses as their agent in the United States. You will also recall that Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised prior to Browder's trip to the Soviet Union that it was his purpose in part to attempt to influence "friendly" leaders in the Soviet Union to support him in regaining his lost leadership in the Communist Party, USA. U

Since Browder's return, there has been considerable speculation both public and private as to whether Browder might have any influence in the Communist Party, USA, either direct or indirect. As an example, G-2 has advised that an informant who is deemed reliable by them has made the following unverified speculation: Browder has returned to the United States and will become the head of the underground or secret apparatus of the Communist Party, USA, as well as the Communist Parties in the Western Hemisphere. Browder is to obtain the necessary equipment and funds to carry on the underground work (printing presses, courier activities, etc.) The Communist Party, USA, in turn, will continue its vehement criticism and denunciation of Browder in order to allay suspicions. U

ONI has also provided an unverified speculation of a similar character. According to an informant whose reliability is not evaluated by ONI, Browder has returned to the United States to be an active cog in the Russian espionage plan, alleging that Browder's industrial directories offer an excellent opportunity for political and industrial espionage. (In his publication, "Distributors Guide," Browder analyzed from a political point of view world economic conditions.) U

Over and above the allegations and speculations set forth above, informant [REDACTED] was with William Browder, Earl Browder, and Mr. and Mrs. John Reynolds on July 18, 1946. Reynolds, it will be recalled, runs the U. S. Service and Shipping Corporation, which firm according to the informant was given some \$15,000.00 by Lem Harris, former undercover financial agent of the Communist Party. The informant said that on July 18, 1946, Browder was asked by Reynolds what he, Browder, proposed to take out of the U. S. Service and Shipping Corporation. A discussion was had of the \$15,000.00 and, according to the informant, it appeared that Earl Browder and Reynolds are in agreement that funds which have been advanced to Browder through the informant and William Browder are actually U

COPIES DESTROYED

RECORDED 5 OCT 5 1970

57 AUG 13 1946

RECORDED

INDEXED

EX-76

30 AUG 1 1946

Classified by [REDACTED]

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

EFG/EGM 5/25/77

b6  
b7C



Memorandum to the Director

a part of the \$15,000.00. Reynolds suggested on July 18, 1946, that a payment of \$1,000.00 a month be made to Browder until such time as he had received the original \$15,000.00 invested. Browder, according to the informant, seemed very happy to know that this amount could be paid, but suggested that it be paid at the rate of \$500.00 a month. The informant stated that as of August 1, 1946, there will be paid to Browder through William Browder the sum of \$2,000.00 and beginning September 1, 1946, the informant will turn over to William Browder and Earl Browder \$500.00 per month in one payment. U

The informant said that Browder indicated he is in strained financial conditions and definitely needs this money since it will be some three years before his new business venture will pay him any substantial money. U

Informant [ ] also learned that Abraham A. Heller, Bill Browder, and Earl Browder are moving into the "Distributors Guide" office and will handle Browder's agreement with the Soviet publishing houses. U

b7D

OBSERVATIONS:

While there is no indication whatsoever that the Party is permitting Browder to utilize the \$15,000.00 which, it is believed, actually belongs to the Party, this is entirely possible. On the other hand, Browder may be taking it on himself to obtain this \$15,000.00 without the knowledge of the Party. U

In view of the allegations, while unverified and highly speculative, that Browder will head the underground or will engage in espionage work for the Soviet Union, it is felt that technical coverage should be utilized on the offices of the "Distributors Guide" to determine the following things: 4

1. Whether Browder is still going to be affiliated with the Party although in an underground capacity.
2. To determine if there are any indications of espionage activity on the part of Browder.
3. To determine what future developments there may be in connection with Browder's publishing business.

It is felt that if the New York Office can assure security, such action should be undertaken.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

#406077  
DECLASSIFIED BY

ON 5-23-00

DATE: July 16,  
1946

b6

b7C

TO : D. M. Ladd  
FROM : E. G. Fitch  
SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_ b6  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_ b7C  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mumford \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

There is attached a letter dated July 15, 1946 from Colonel alloway of the Central Intelligence Group transmitting a letter from John F. ~~Morman~~ which contains information concerning Morman's contacts with Earl Browder.

This letter was forwarded to this Bureau for such consideration as is deemed advisable.

## RECOMMENDATION

EX-22 RECORDED & INDEXED 343

343 1460-3798-433  
FBI

It is recommended that the enclosures be forwarded to the Internal Security Section for the attention of Mr. Whitson.

**1**  
**Enclosure**

39: GME

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

47P

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP  
NEW WAR DEPARTMENT BUILDING  
21st and VIRGINIA AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15 July 1946

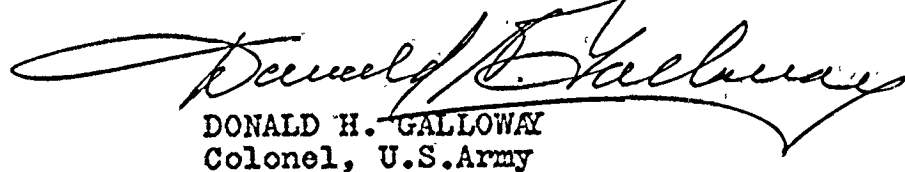
MEMORANDUM FOR LIAISON OFFICER, FEDERAL BUREAU  
OF INVESTIGATION

SUBJECT: Letter from John F. Morman

1. Enclosed herewith is a letter from John F. Morman, 5731 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., concerning his contacts with Earl Browder.

2. The letter was apparently inspired by recent announcement of the creation of the Central Intelligence Group, and was therefore referred to the Director of that Group.

3. However, it appears that the matter is one in which the Federal Bureau of Investigation has a primary interest, and is therefore referred to the Bureau for such consideration as deemed necessary.

  
DONALD H. GALLOWAY  
Colonel, U.S. Army

encl.

ENCLOSURE

343

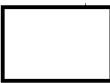
EX-22

RECORDED

EX-22

140-3798-433

20 AUG 5 1946

Declassified by   
EFG/EGM 5/25/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

479

Phila. Pa.  
5731 - Woodland Ave.  
July 10 - 1946.

Admiral, Wm. D. Lahey,  
Chief of Staff, White House,  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Dear Admiral,

In view of my contact  
with Earl Browder who has just re-  
turned from Moscow and it was a pec-  
uliar contact I have a thought that it may  
be of interest to the right party in the  
government or governmental department.

Due to circumstances it is most im-  
portant that I do make the proper con-  
tact and thought of the newly formed  
Central Intelligence Group however I also  
noted the changes taking place from time to  
time and that is not the protection I need  
I also thought of the State Department  
who would be most interested what I  
have in mind but when I read of certain

40-3798-133  
ENCLOSURE

parties within the department being on the pink side I thought it best to learn who is who first so I considered your approach the safest.

We certainly must assume that Mr. Browder though supposedly ousted from the Communist party came back here with a mission to carry out under the guise of a representative of book publishers.

It is possible that I can again pick up this past contact with him but must do it first through one or more of his former closer associates and with me twelve years of practical experience in every branch of the investigation field I am quite certain if I can make this pickup I will be able uncover the work that Mr. Browder has been assigned to do.

I am associated with one of the largest agencies in the country at the present time and travel extensively and am in a position to come to Wash. D.C. at your

request, however I consider too important and unsafe to discuss the matter with any other department at this time.

I will furnish you the necessary papers and records of my qualifications at the time of my interview if you so desire, dating back to 1922.

I am available at any time and if you so desire will come to Washington however I would like to have a little notice as I may be out of the city on an assignment.

Hoping to hear from you,

I remain,

Respectfully yours  
John D. Moorman

Memorandum to the Director

ACTION:

In the event you concur with the foregoing, there is attached for your approval a letter directing the New York Field Division to survey the possibilities of installing both a microphone surveillance and a technical surveillance at the offices of "Distributors Guide", 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York. *X4*

Attachment

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: July 23, 1946

FROM : Mr. D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Coffey  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

Under date of July 15, 1946, the Central Intelligence Group forwarded a letter from John F. Morman dated at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 10, 1946, and addressed to Admiral William D. Leahy. In this letter Morman states that he has had previous contact with Earl Browder and that it is possible that he can renew this past contact. Morman states that he will be able to uncover the work Browder has been assigned to do since his return from the Soviet Union. Morman also stated that he has had twelve years of practical experience in the investigative field and that he wanted to make the proper contact with that Government agency which would be most interested in the information he might possibly develop.

A review of the files reflects that John F. Morman is identical with John Ferdinand Morman, alias John Morman, the subject of an Extortion case which was investigated by the Philadelphia Office in 1938. As a result of the investigation, Morman was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on the entire indictment of five counts. He was taken to the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, on October 18, 1938, to serve this sentence. There is no record in Morman's case file as to when he was released but it is undoubtedly the case that while Morman was in Atlanta, he met Earl Browder, who was incarcerated there from 1940 to 1942.

Background information on Morman reflects that he committed some 47 acts of extortion aimed at such victims as Lessing J. Rosenwald, William Meyer, Gerald Nugent, Harold Publiker, and J. Newton Pew, all of Philadelphia. He apparently had enjoyed a fairly good reputation prior to these activities which began in January of 1934. He worked for the Railway Audit and Inspection Company off and on during the years 1930 to 1938. In 1933 he made application for employment with the Bureau.

## OBSERVATIONS:

MX-22

RECORDED &amp; INDEXED

343 140-3798-434 EAW

It is believed that Morman is merely endeavoring to get backing for his proposed contact with Browder for financial reasons. Furthermore, it is believed that the reason he did not write to the Bureau directly (which he did not mention at all in his letter) is that he is aware that his past record is on file with the Bureau. It is not believed that any action should be taken with regard to Morman's proposal other than to merely acknowledge receipt of his letter as forwarded by the Central Intelligence Group and that it is being made a matter of record in the files of the Bureau.

COPIES DESTROYED

342 OCT 5 1970 Inasmuch as Browder is such a topic of interest, it may be that the Central Intelligence Group will be curious as to what action the Bureau has taken on Morman's letter. Consequently, it is felt that a blank memorandum should be prepared on Morman and made available by the Liaison Section to the Central Intelligence Group, advising them of Morman's background and the fact that no action is being taken by the Bureau with regard to Morman's proposal.

EHW:edm

51 AUG 7 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BYb6  
b7C



Memorandum for the Director.

ACTION:

In the event you approve with the above suggestions, there are attached:

1. A perfunctory acknowledgment of Morman's letter
2. A blind memorandum for delivery by the Liaison Section to the Central Intelligence Group which briefly outlines Morman's background.

Attachments.

no. I see no reason for building  
up files of C & G particularly  
in matters not under their jurisdiction  
& of no proper concern to them

H.

Assistant Attorney General T. L. Caudle  
Criminal Division

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

July 26, 1946

*Declassified*  
*by* [redacted] *FM*  
*5/25/77*

b6  
b7C

There are attached photostatic copies of the results of the interview by Department of State representatives with the subject and the contractual agreement between Browder and the United State Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (OOIZ), and the State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (ISKUSSTVO).

The Bureau would appreciate being advised of any registration on the part of Browder or any negotiations between the Department of Justice and Browder relative to such registration.

It is suggested that this information be considered in light of that previously furnished to the Criminal Division relative to Browder's trip to the Soviet Union.

Attachments

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

EHW:ROL

RECORDED

58

F B I

AUG 17 1946

DIVISION OF  
INVESTIGATION  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF  
INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

(OVER)

140-3798-435

*SEARCHED*  
*SERIALIZED*  
*INDEXED*  
*FILED*

*EHW*

4-436

13

3-2,

July 26, 1946

**Director, FBI**

**EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

Attached are two photostatic copies each of the results of the interview between Department of State representatives with the subject and a contractual agreement between Browder and the United State Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (OOIZ), and the State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR (ISKUSSTVO).

You are advised that the Bureau has furnished this information to the Criminal Division of the Department with the request that the Bureau be advised of any registration on the part of Browder or any negotiations between the Department of Justice and Browder relative to such registration.

You are instructed to carefully study this information particularly the contractual agreement and utilize it in connection with your investigation of Browder.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/22/99 BY  

Tolson  
E. A. Tamm  
Clegg  
Glavin  
Ladd  
Nichols  
Rosen  
Tracy  
Harson  
Egan  
Gurnea  
Harbo  
Mohr  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Nease  
Gandy

## Atschmenten

# ~~Enrol~~

8 AUG

b6  
b7C

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. LADD *EL*

FROM : E. G. Fitch *EGF*

SUBJECT: Earl Browder  
Internal Security - C

DATE: July 23, 1946

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

Under date of July 15, 1946, Mr. Earl Browder made an appearance at the State Department where he was interviewed by Messrs. Thompson and Stevens who handle Russian Matters in the Eastern European Division of the State Department. For the Bureau's information Mr. Roach has obtained a copy of the memorandum of conversation prepared by Mr. Thompson and is attached hereto.

It is to be noted that Browder has submitted to the State Department a copy of the contract he negotiated with the Soviet purchasing houses which sets forth the names of the various publishing houses that he will represent in the United States. It should be noted that the memorandum of conversation as prepared does not supply complete answers to the questions submitted by the Bureau to the State Department that were to be asked Browder during the interview. However, it does constitute the only replies to the questions *elicited* *listed* by the State Department representative.

It is suggested that this memorandum be referred to the Internal Security Section for its information.

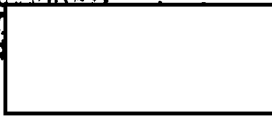
Attachment.

EX - 100  
RHR/mhrRECORDED  
& INDEXED40-3798-436  
30 AUG 1 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY

b6  
b7C

111  
ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY



40-3798-436

ENCLOSURE

b6  
b7C

American Communist Party would now have to get its printed material through him, Mr. Browder replied that they would, unless they were going to pirate it.

He will not supply the Soviet organizations with mailing lists in this country but will furnish publishers here with lists of Soviet books and, in some cases, with copies of translations. He said he felt strongly that it would be unwise to deal through any single American publisher and that he would endeavor to interest as many American publishing houses as possible. He expected that the chief interest would be in scientific and technical publications and implied that most of the translations would be made here. He would not import books for sale himself and would not deal in Russian language publications for the American market.

It was pointed out to Mr. Browder that the United States had long been interested in the question of copyright protection with respect to the Soviet Union and he said that he had discussed this matter in Moscow. He said he gathered that the Soviet authorities agreed in principle to the concluding of a copyright convention and that the matter was now being considered on a high level in the Soviet Government.

Mr. Browder said that although the matter was not covered by his contract, the Soviet authorities expected him to assist them in obtaining material published in this country for publication in the Soviet Union. In this connection, he said that the whole Soviet publishing setup was being reorganized and that a special new publishing house for foreign publications was being created, with particular emphasis on American and British publications. He said he had told the Soviet authorities that the first question he would be asked upon his return to the United States was whether or not this would be a two-way proposition. It had been indicated to him that the publication of American material in the Soviet Union would be increased about five times.

Mr. Browder said he had seen Mr. Molotov upon the latter's invitation, that Mr. Molotov had said that he had been informed of Mr. Browder's negotiations, and he expressed the hope that he would undertake to represent Soviet publishing houses in the United States provided this would not embarrass him before the American public. Mr. Browder said he had replied that for over twenty years he had been branded as a Soviet agent in the United States and that it would now cause him no embarrassment to become

one. He strongly implied that his conversation with Mr. Molotov had been confined to a discussion of his publishing venture exclusively.

Mr. Browder was informed that the Department presumed that he was aware of the requirements for the registration of agents of foreign governments in this country and that while this was a technical matter which did not come within the purview of this Department it was felt that it should be brought to his attention. Mr. Browder replied that he had not recently looked up the law on this subject but that he had made a thorough study of it when he was Secretary of the Communist Party and that as he recalled it, it did not apply in the case of a purely commercial venture. When it was suggested that he might, in his own interest, wish to inform the Department of Justice of the details of his proposed activities, he replied that he would take no initiative in the matter as he did not wish to suggest that his undertaking was such as to require registration. He was informed that the Department would of course advise the Department of Justice of the contract which he had concluded and he said he was very glad to have this done and that the Department of Justice could be informed that if it felt registration was required, he was prepared to comply without argument.

In the ensuing discussion on the general subject of Soviet-American relations Mr. Browder was asked if he had any particular comment or observations to offer arising out of his recent visit to the Soviet Union, and whether there were current any particular misunderstandings concerning the United States on the part of Soviet citizens or officials with whom he had come into contact. He referred in reply to the importance of better information on both sides and mentioned, in particular, what he called the "press campaign" in this country for "getting tough with the Soviet Union". He said he found much less talk of war in the Soviet Union than in this country, and such as there was, arose chiefly from reaction to the line now being taken in the American press. He said people were disturbed by this but considered it a temporary phase. He said his views on this subject would soon be published in an article in the NEW REPUBLIC. He mentioned the prominence given in the American press to the "housecleaning" taking place in the Soviet organizations and said that the press treatment of this subject had been greatly exaggerated; that while there is considerable reorganization going on, it was largely because the better talent in Soviet organizations had been absorbed in the war effort and reorganization was now called for.

Mr. Browder

Mr. Browder said that he had fallen into this venture by accident as he had gone to the Soviet Union to find out whether or not he was still regarded as a friend and with the idea of writing a few articles. He said he had not even had to discuss the matter as to whether or not he was regarded as a friend as this was self-evident from the issuance of a visa and the friendly reception he had had in Moscow. Upon his arrival there he found that the head of the publishing house of Ogiz, Mr. Yudin, was an old friend of his. When he had suggested to Mr. Yudin that the Soviet publishing houses were neglecting the American market, Yudin remarked that they needed a representative and urged Browder to accept the job. He said he had sought no official interviews and that it had been a great relief to him to do business free of any official connections.

Llewellyn E. Thompson

Enclosure--Copy of contract between  
Mr. Earl Browder and  
Soviet Publishing Houses

EE:LEThompson:la



New York 7, New York

July 26, 1946

Director, FBI

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF DECLASSIFICATION  
DATE 10/17/77

ESPIONAGE - R  
REFER 5 IS

Declassified  
by EGM  
5/25/77

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Dear Sir:

There are being set out herein the results of the interviews with Confidential Informant GENELORE had by Special Agents Thomas U. Spencer and Joseph M. Kelly as they relate to the current and future activities of EARL WISSELL BROWDER and WILLIAM E. BROWDER and ABRAHAM A. HILLER. The information set forth hereinafter supplements the data furnished in my letter dated July 11, 1946 concerning the same individuals.

On July 17, 1946, Confidential Informant [ ] advised that in her meeting with WILLIAM BROWDER on July 11, 1946, she had given him \$250 in cash and that during the conversation he informed her that he had anticipated going to Texas on a vacation to visit his wife's people, but was somewhat undecided as to whether he should make this trip. He explained that he had been receiving unemployment compensation for a period of 26 weeks and that he was just about to start receiving compensation for an additional 26 weeks, and he feared that if the authorities learned that he was making this pleasure trip, they might discontinue payments to him.

b3  
b7D

The informant advised that apparently after WILLIAM ceased his activities as business manager of the "DAILY WORKER", he applied for unemployment compensation and had received the same and due to the fact that it was very difficult for the employment service to supply him with the type of work he had formerly been engaged in, they were going to continue to pay him this compensation.

The informant subsequently advised that she met WILLIAM BROWDER again on July 18, 1946, at which time she turned over to him \$250 in cash. It was on this date that BILL arranged for a meeting at his home between EARL BROWDER and JOHN H. REYNOLDS, which meeting was to take place on the evening of July 24, 1946. The informant stated that, when this appointment was made, BILL did not say anything as to whether or not she, the informant, was to accompany REYNOLDS to BILL BROWDER's home.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

WIS:CTG

RECORDED

EX - 42

40-3798-437  
F B I  
78 AUG 6 1946

b3

58 AUG 14 1946

COPIES OF ORIGINAL

Letter to Director  
NY

July 26, 1946

b3

On July 25, 1946, the informant advised that, in accordance with the suggestion made by WILLIAM BROWDER for a meeting at his home on the night of July 24, 1946, this meeting did take place. She stated that on the evening of July 24, at REYNOLDS' invitation, she had dinner with Mr. and Mrs. REYNOLDS at their apartment. When the informant arrived at the REYNOLDS home, she found that he was in an intoxicated condition, and following her arrival, Mrs. REYNOLDS indicated her disapproval of REYNOLDS' anticipated trip to Moscow. She told him he should consider his American heritage, his service in World War I and World War II, and related that he should not get involved in anything that would injure his reputation, and insisted that she accompany him and the informant to the meeting to be held at WILLIAM BROWDER's home.

REYNOLDS acquiesced and stated that immediately upon his arrival he would inform BROWDER that he did not intend to go to Moscow, nor did he intend to become involved in any activities that would injure his reputation as a good American.

At about 8:15 pm, the informant and Mr. and Mrs. REYNOLDS arrived at the home of WILLIAM BROWDER. The only occupants in the home at that time were WILLIAM and EARL BROWDER. However, about an hour later, ROSE, WILLIAM BROWDER's wife, returned and participated in the conversation that ensued thereafter. Continuing, the informant advised that immediately upon arrival, REYNOLDS launched into a long discussion as to his American fears, his service with the United States Army both in World War I and World War II, and his extreme patriotism. He also indicated that he saw no reason why he should go to Moscow in the immediate future.

The informant stated that EARL was somewhat taken back by the outbursts of REYNOLDS and further by the fact that he was somewhat incoherent and noticeably drunk. EARL's only comment after REYNOLDS' utterances was that he did not see any necessity for an immediate trip by REYNOLDS to Moscow but stated that in all probability it would be advantageous to travel there probably in the early spring of next year. EARL pointed out that this trip would be most advantageous in order that the U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPERS CORPORATION might gain the confidence of Intourist and also obtain a more favorable contractual agreement.

Later in the evening, EARL remarked that he was in rather strained financial conditions and that the institution of his new book and publishing business would probably not show any sizable profit for a period of three years and that in order to build up the business to pay lucrative returns in the future, he would have to spend a sizable amount of money which he did not have at this time.

Letter to Director  
NY

July 26, 1946  
[REDACTED]

b3

REYNOLDS, who by this time had calmed down considerably, asked EARL if a \$1,000 a month would carry him through this initial period of establishing his business. At this point, REYNOLDS brought up the matter of the \$15,000 that had been put into the capital stock of the U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION at the time this firm was incorporated. The informant stated that this is the first time she has ever known of any conversation transpiring between BROWDER and REYNOLDS concerning the above mentioned \$15,000. It was the informant's opinion that EARL BROWDER considered the money that had been advanced by REYNOLDS up to the present time more or less of a gratuity on the part of REYNOLDS. However, after this conversation concerning the \$15,000, EARL inquired if the U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION was in a position to pay this money over to him, and when informed he could have it in any type of payment he desired, EARL was rather pleased to know that the business was in such a shape that they could pay him this amount of money.

At the conclusion of this conversation concerning the payments of money it was decided that the informant would pay the sum of \$500 cash in one payment each month to WILLIAM BROWDER, and that the moneys previously advanced, as well as all the money thereafter paid to EARL, would be considered as payments made against the deposit of \$15,000 into the treasury of the U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION.

The following is a recapitulation of the moneys previously advanced to WILLIAM BROWDER by the informant:

June 10, 1946	\$200.00
June 21, 1946	200.00
June 26, 1946	300.00
July 11, 1946	250.00
July 18, 1946	250.00
July 23, 1946	<u>250.00</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,450.00</b>

It was further agreed that a payment of \$550 would be made on August 1 to bring the amount up to \$2,000, and that thereafter, sometime in the first week of each succeeding month, the sum of \$500 would be paid by the informant to WILLIAM BROWDER until such time as \$15,000 had been paid or some other arrangements had been agreed upon.

Letter to Director  
NY [redacted]

July 26, 1946  
[redacted]

b3

In connection with the payment of this money, the informant volunteered that the financial conditions of the company were such that they could readily pay this amount and remarked that the company's account presently had a balance of about \$30,000.

The informant was asked how REYNOLDS anticipated carrying these payments on the books of the company and she stated that he had made the tentative suggestion that he would reduce the capital of the company from \$30,000 to \$5,000, and in that way keep the books straight, and this reduction in capital of \$25,000 would be used to pay BROWDER the money.

Informant [redacted] stated that she also learned that the first of six articles that BROWDER is writing for the magazine "NEW REPUBLIC" will appear in next week's issue of this magazine. She also learned that the first article would probably concern EARL's visit to HELSINKI when he was enroute from the United States to Moscow, but did not learn anything else concerning the topic of any of the other articles that would appear in this magazine.

b7D

[redacted] stated that because of the number of people present, particularly Mrs. REYNOLDS, and also because of JACK REYNOLDS' inebriated condition, it was not possible for her to engaged in any conversations that might have been of interest to the Bureau. At the termination of the meeting, everyone parted in good spirits. However, EARL BROWDER did not make any arrangements for a future meeting with JACK REYNOLDS or the informant.

b7D

It will be recalled that at the meeting held on June 30, 1946 in the home of WILLIAM BROWDER, at which time EARL BROWDER was there, the informant was of the definite opinion that EARL BROWDER was attempting to more or less cut the informant out and approach REYNOLDS directly. She advised, however, that there was no indication of this maneuver on the part of EARL BROWDER on the occasion of the meeting on July 24, 1946.

The informant also advised that, according to a pre-arranged plan, she met WILLIAM BROWDER at 11:00 am on July 25, 1946, at which time she turned over to him \$250 in cash.

At the suggestion of the agents, the informant made a casual inquiry of ABRAHAM A. HELLER at this time, and BILL told her that "they" had met HELLER at LaGuardia Airport when he returned from Moscow and that he looked well and was in high spirits. Continuing, BILL advised that HELLER moved into the DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE office and was a "member of the firm". He further stated that both EARL and himself were very happy to

Letter to Director  
NY

July 26, 1946  
[REDACTED]

b3

be associated with HELLER inasmuch as HELLER has a good understanding of the publishing business, speaks three languages; has a great many influential friends. He further remarked that they are very busy doing the "spade work" of this new venture and that both EARL and himself have been to several publishers and have been very well received.

Very truly yours,

E. E. CONROY  
SAC

cc - NY 100-7758  
100-321  
100-23693

g-3

Assistant Attorney General Theron L. Caudle  
Criminal Division  
Director, FBI

August 2, 1946

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Declassified by  
EFG/EGM 5/25/77

b6  
b7C

In order that you might be currently advised as to the status of the subject, the following information is submitted as reflecting on the type of material Browder had in his possession upon his return to the United States.

In addition to clothing and personal effects, such as souvenirs and gifts, the following material was in Browder's possession when he returned to the United States on June 26, 1946:

1. A 43-page speech given by Earl Browder on June 18, 1945, apparently at the National Committee meeting of the Communist Political Association held June 18, to June 20, 1945.
2. A 10-page question-and-answer discussion dated June 20, 1945.
3. A 43-page summary by William Z. Foster dated June 20, 1945.
4. A pamphlet entitled "What America Faces" by Eugene Dennis, now general secretary of the Communist Party, USA. This pamphlet was dated March 1946.
5. A pamphlet entitled "America at the Crossroads; Post-War Problems and Communist Policy," by Eugene Dennis, with a forward by William Z. Foster.
6. A copy of the April 1946 issue of "Political Affairs," which contains an article on "The Expulsion of Browder by William Z. Foster."
7. A pamphlet entitled "Socialism - What's in it for You," by A. B. Magil, an editor of "New Masses."
8. Browder's own book, "Tehran - Our Path to War and Peace."
9. A pamphlet entitled "The Jewish People Face the Postwar World," by Alexander Bittelman, published by Morning Freiheit Association.
10. A copy of the magazine "Time and Tide," independent known Party publication, issue of June 15, 1946, London, England.
11. The magazine "The Economist," issue of June 15, 1946, London, England.
12. The magazine "Statesmen and Nation," issue of June 15, 1946, published at London, England.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 10/17/77

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

AEPC

3798-438

EX-22 28 58 AUG 6 1946

100-3798-438

Best Copy Available

July 24, 1946

Mr. John F. Norman  
5731 Woodland Avenue  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

EARL BROWDER

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter directed to Admiral William D. Leahy under date of July 10, 1946, which has been referred to this Bureau.

This is to advise that your letter has been made a matter of record in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

RECORDED  
INDEXED  
EX-57

140-3728-  
F B  
53 AUG 1 1946

RECEIVED  
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
JUL 25 4 34 PM '46

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

EHV:edm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

55 AUG 13 1946

b6  
b7C

Best Copy Available

New York 7, New York

July 11, 1946

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF *Declassification*  
DATE 10/17/77

*Declassified by* [redacted]  
*EEG/EGM 5/25/77*

Director, FBI

RE: [redacted]  
ESPIONAGE - R  
REFER 5 IS

Dear Sir:

There are being set out herein the results of interviews of Confidential Informant [redacted] as they relate to the current and future activities of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WILLIAM E. BROWDER and ABRAHAM A. MELLER. It is to be noted that the information contained in instant letter supplements the data supplied by my letter dated June 24, 1946 concerning the same individuals.

On June 25, 1946, Informant [redacted] advised that she had discussed with JOHN H. REYNOLDS the request of WILLIAM BROWDER for the additional \$500 "advance" and that he had decided to furnish this amount but that it should be divided into payments of \$300 and \$200 rather than one lump sum. REYNOLDS told informant he felt this procedure was more advisable inasmuch as he was taking these sums from the corporate treasury and that he could better show the withdrawals on the company's books as entertainment expense if they were carried as two separate withdrawals.

With respect to the financial payments presently being made by REYNOLDS, it is to be recalled that at the time the U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION was organized in April of 1941 the sum of \$15,000 was supplied by LEMENT U. HARRIS, undercover financial agent for the Communist Party in the New York area, and that as a practical matter the sums currently being disbursed to the BROWDERS by REYNOLDS actually may be said to be coming out of this original \$15,000 investment. It was ascertained definitely from Informant, however, that neither REYNOLDS nor EARL or WILLIAM BROWDER ever refers to the transactions as of this character but informant has no doubt that this original sum did represent Party funds rather than the personal assets of EARL BROWDER.

JMK:JEM

RECORDED

100-3772440  
F B I  
65 AUG 9 1946

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b7D

b3  
b7D

Original copy filed in

b3



Letter to Director  
NY

b3

Informant further declared on June 25, 1946 that in accordance with REYNOLDS' instructions, she was prepared to hand over to WILLIAM BROWDER the sum of \$300 whenever he contacted her. On the following day, she attempted to reach him at the office of DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. but was unable to locate him.

On June 27, 1946 Informant advised that on the preceding day, she had contacted WILLIAM BROWDER who told her that he expected to be very busy that day inasmuch as he planned to go to LaGuardia Field to meet his brother on the latter's arrival by plane but said he would be able to see the Informant at 3:30 PM that day after she informed him she had \$300 to give him. The President Tavern, Lexington Avenue and 41st Street, New York City, was designated by BROWDER as the meeting place. Late that day the informant telephonically advised that she had met BROWDER at the designated time and place and gave him the \$300.

On interview, June 28, 1946,  advised that on the occasion of her meeting with WILLIAM BROWDER the preceding day, he had informed her that he had met his brother, EARL, at LaGuardia Field on June 26, 1946 and had driven him to his home in Yonkers but that he had been unable as yet to have any detailed conversations with him. BILL did state, however, that his brother's trip had been very successful, that he had been well received in Russia, that he had been a guest of the Russian Government during his stay there, that all expenses while there were defrayed by the Russians, and that EARL had been given "carte blanche" by the Russians for any future activities. In addition, BILL declared to Informant that EARL had been told that he would have the tacit support of the Russian Government in whatever policy he pursued towards WILLIAM I. FOSTER and the latter's clique in the Communist Party but that obviously the Soviet Government could not publicly proclaim its support of him at this time.

b7D

Informant also reported that BILL stated EARL is presently undecided as to future policy but was of the opinion that the remnants of the Communist Party organization in this country were beyond rehabilitation and that he might support an entirely new political party; further, that EARL had secured a favorable and financially advantageous five-year contract giving him the exclusive United States franchise for handling sales of Soviet publications in this country and that probably in furtherance of his activities along this line he probably would resort to court action against ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG and the latter's firm, the INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, if satisfactory arrangements could not be made.

Let. to Director  
NY [redacted]

b3

Also on the occasion of this meeting, according to Informant, WILLIAM BROWDER hinted that EARL had decided to force TRACHTENBERG out of business and indicated there was clearly no possibility of reconciliation between BROWDER and the faction which ousted him from Party control. [redacted] was unable to learn from WILLIAM BROWDER the identities of any individuals whom EARL had seen while in Russia and BROWDER made no comments as to his brother's observations, if any, on Russian opinion, official or otherwise, towards the United States. He did, however, tell informant that EARL had commented that the USSR was generally in very bad condition and that the only exceptions were the Red Army which continues to be efficient, and the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. BILL quoted EARL as saying that the male population of Russia had been virtually decimated by the war and that transportation and agriculture especially were disorganized and at an extremely low level of efficiency.

b7D

With respect to EARL BROWDER's plans for the future, Informant learned from BILL that because of the great amount of publicity accorded his recent trip to Russia, EARL was going to be most careful in the future in meeting people and was going to see only those persons who could come to the office of DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. on ostensibly legitimate business. BILL elaborated on this by saying that EARL felt he was going to be the object of close scrutiny by this government, the press and his political enemies and that he was going to govern his actions accordingly.

Shortly after the above reported interview was concluded and Agents had returned to the New York Office, [redacted] telephonically advised that pursuant to a message left for her at her office during her absence, she had telephoned WILLIAM BROWDER and he had informed her that he wanted to see her immediately. She agreed to meet him again at the President Tavern and later that day advised Agents that on meeting BILL he informed her that his brother EARL wanted to see the Informant and JOHN H. REYNOLDS at WILLIAM BROWDER's apartment, 38 West 9th Street, New York City, at 9:00 PM, June 30, 1946. WILLIAM BROWDER indicated that this conference would concern mainly what EARL was able to accomplish in Moscow relative to the future of the U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION. He also mentioned on this occasion that EARL probably would not resume regular publication of "DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE" but that he intended to spend most of his time in the office, working three or four hours per day on what he called his political autobiography.

b7D

It is to be noted that on the occasion of this meeting WILLIAM BROWDER furnished to the Informant his business card on which is printed the following:

Let. to Director  
NY

b3

"W. E. Browder  
Distributors Guide, Inc.  
35 West 42nd Street, New York  
Chelsea 3-7129"

On the reverse side of this business card BROWDER wrote: "W. E. Branch, Apt. 6, 38 W. 9th St., CR 4-0436". He explained that this telephone number was unlisted. This business card will be retained in the WILLIAM BROWDER file inasmuch as it is a known specimen of his handwriting.

On July 1, 1946 Informant  advised Agents that in accordance with arrangements made on the occasion of her second meeting with WILLIAM BROWDER on June 28, 1946, she, accompanied by JOHN H. REYNOLDS, went to the apartment of WILLIAM BROWDER, at 9:00 PM, June 30, 1946 and there met EARL, BILL and the latter's wife, ROSE. Informant and REYNOLDS spent approximately two hours in their company and commented that throughout the evening EARL seemed very guarded in his statements, engaged in a great deal of innuendo and was evasive about what he had been able to accomplish specifically for REYNOLDS' company, U. S. SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION, while in Moscow. EARL indicated definitely, however, that it would be very advisable for REYNOLDS to proceed to Moscow in the near future as he hinted broadly that worthwhile financial and customs concessions would very likely be made by the USSR if REYNOLDS conferred personally there with Russian officials. BROWDER at no time identified by name any individual whom he contacted in Moscow, made no comment whatsoever about his opinion or impressions gained there on relations between the United States and the USSR but did state that his trip was most successful. He exhibited to Informant and REYNOLDS his copy of the contract negotiated while he was in Moscow and Informant reported that it was a three-page document typewritten in good legal English, signed by three Russian officials in addition to himself, and by its terms named BROWDER as the exclusive United States agent for all Soviet publication sales in this country. In such contract his compensation was fixed at 25% of the first \$40,000 gross business, 10% of the next \$60,000 and 5% on any business in excess of \$100,000.

b7D

During the evening's conversation, EARL claimed to have disassociated himself from politics, stated his activities would be those of an ordinary business man and did not comment at all about the statement BILL BROWDER had made to the Informant June 27, 1946 that EARL was going to wage a vigorous

Let. to Director

NY

fight against WILLIAM I. FOSTER and the latter's clique. Informant gained the impression from BROWDER's cautious remarks that he has in fact formulated plans for future activities although the comment he made in this regard was that he would continue to do some "publicizing" and that if people were attracted to his leadership he, of course, could not help that. According to informant, EARL on a couple of occasions during the evening attempted to engage in private conversation with REYNOLDS, this talk being outside informant's hearing but she does feel that BROWDER is obviously trying to circumvent her and subject REYNOLDS completely to his influence.

Because of EARL's reiterated statements to REYNOLDS that the latter very definitely should proceed to Russia in the near future, informant believes the Russians do have designs on controlling REYNOLDS and his business, the purpose being to exploit him as a front inasmuch as they know expansion of the business is contemplated and it might well serve as a good cover for their personnel especially if offices are opened in Canada and Mexico.

Informant declared that EARL was very enigmatic throughout the evening and was obviously holding both her and REYNOLDS "at arm's length". It is to be noted, however, that she stated that throughout the course of her acquaintanceship with BROWDER, he has never been expansive and she does not believe he ever fully confides in anyone.

It is to be noted at this point that when informant met WILLIAM BROWDER for the second time on June 28, 1946, he informed her that he and EARL had discussed their financial situation and had decided that they would need \$200 a month for the next six months from REYNOLDS to defray expenses. Prior to the evening of June 30, 1946, she related this request to REYNOLDS who agreed to furnish these sums but during the conference with EARL there was no mention made of the matter.

At the conclusion of the conference at WILLIAM BROWDER's apartment, no plans were made for a future meeting except that EARL said that BILL would be in touch with informant from time to time. Upon informant's inquiry as to his residence plans for the Summer, EARL declared he did not believe he would spend the Summer at the place near Monroe, New York which he has formerly frequented but expected to remain in the city working and might spend an occasional weekend at the country home of GEORGE SELDES. It will be recalled that this latter individual is the publisher of "In Fact" and has employed ROSE BROWDER, wife of WILLIAM BROWDER, for some years in his office.

Let. to Director

NY

b3

b7D

Confidential Informant  was interviewed by Agents on July 9, 1946 at which time she stated that she had received a phone call from WILLIAM BROWDER on July 8, 1946, requesting that she meet him at 1:30 PM at the President Tavern. In accordance with this arrangement, she met BILL BROWDER. However, they had lunch at the Helms Restaurant, on 41st Street near Lexington Avenue. During this meeting, he informed  that it would be necessary for him to obtain \$250 a week rather than the amount previously requested and suggested that she confer with JOHN REYNOLDS concerning the payment of this money. She also volunteered that EARL BROWDER had recently been approached by officials of the Mutual Network for the purpose of having him make a broadcast and as a result of these meetings he is scheduled to be on the Mutual Network at 10:30 PM, July 15, 1946 and will broadcast from Washington, D. C. WILLIAM BROWDER did not indicate what the subject matter of BROWDER's discourse would be on this radio program. WILLIAM further stated that EARL BROWDER has arranged for a press conference the day after the broadcast but is not sure whether this press conference is scheduled to be held in New York City or Washington, D. C. but is of the opinion that it is probably Washington.

b7D

This was brought about during this interview when the subject matter of an article appearing in the New York Daily News datelined July 3, 1946 was mentioned. This is an article by JOHN O'DONNELL and concerns the manner in which EARL BROWDER obtained his passport, giving indication that it was necessary for him to divulge a list of Communists in the United States to the State Department before they would grant him this passport. Concerning this, WILLIAM stated that at the scheduled press conference on Tuesday, July 16, 1946, that JOHN O'DONNELL would not be permitted to attend. Commenting further on this article by O'DONNELL, WILLIAM stated that he had talked this matter over with a newspaper friend of his who after this conversation indicated that the news release was libelous. WILLIAM further stated that he had contemplated seeing a lawyer concerning this with the possibility of instituting a suit against JOHN O'DONNELL and the Daily News. WILLIAM declared, however, that EARL has never instituted any suits of this type before and is not sure whether in fact such suit will be instituted at a future date. WILLIAM BROWDER also advised that EARL had recently been approached by the magazine "New Republic" and as a result of a conference held with the officials of this magazine he is going to publish six articles for this magazine which probably will appear within the very near future.

Let. to Director

NY [ ]

b3

It is of interest to note that after the latest financial request made by the BROWERS, REYNOLDS informed [ ] that he has decided his former technique of showing his disbursements on the company's books as "entertainment expense" would no longer be sufficient and accordingly he has decided to issue \$1,000 more capital stock for the concern, bringing the total paid-in capital to \$20,000. He then will declare a 10% dividend which would provide him with the cash to make the requested advance.

b7D

With respect to ABRAHAM A. HELLER who, as the Bureau has previously been informed, joined EARL BROWER in Moscow, the only information that [ ] was able to learn concerning him was that EARL had in fact met him in Russia and that there was no particular significance attached to the fact that HELLER did not return to this country on the same plane with BROWER. EARL passed off an inquiry along this line by saying that HELLER had arrived after he did and that he simply was not able to complete his mission there by the time BROWER was ready to leave.

b7D

On July 8, 1946, WILLIAM BROWER advised [ ] that HELLER was en route home and that he had received a cable sent by HELLER from Paris.

b7D

Concerning Bureau teletype dated July 10, 1946 relating the information that the Russian desk of the United States State Department had scheduled an interview with EARL BROWER and directing that efforts be made by this division to ascertain the circumstances thereof, [ ] was contacted on July 11, 1946 and requested to arrange a meeting that day with WILLIAM BROWER if such a conference could be held discreetly. Informant had advised that she had not planned to contact BILL before July 12, 1946 but it was suggested to her that she inform BILL that she had another sum of money ready for him and that this might be an inducement for him to see her. She subsequently informed Agents that she had been successful in arranging a meeting with BILL BROWER at 1:00 PM that day and was then instructed briefly as to what matters it was desired she discuss with him.

b7D

On the completion of this meeting with BILL, she advised that she had learned from BILL that EARL had been requested by the State Department to appear in Washington on July 15, 1946 on what the State Department termed a "routine" matter involving his new contract to represent Soviet publications in this country. BILL indicated that the purpose of the conference apparently was to determine whether because of EARL's securing the new contract he would thereby become subject to registration as an agent of a foreign principal.

Let. to Director

NY [redacted]

b3

[redacted] learned in addition from BILL that he was planning to depart with EARL from New York City on the evening of July 14, 1946 for Washington and that they expected to be occupied most of the day at the State Department. Informant was unable to learn further details of this trip except that BILL did say EARL was most desirous of avoiding registration as an agent of a foreign principal. BILL also mentioned again to GREGORY that EARL was scheduled to make a radio broadcast on the evening of June 15, 1946 but did not elaborate on this engagement. A review of the July 12, 1946 issue of the New York Daily News reflects that in the radio column entitled "Listening In" it is mentioned that "EARL BROWDER, former Communist Party headman recently returned from a trip to Russia, will 'Meet the Press', Monday night at 11:35 via WOR".

b7D

It was also developed by [redacted] during the course of this meeting with WILLIAM BROWDER that EARL has moved his entire family to the home of JOSEPH ADAMS at Hillburn, near Suffern, New York, for the Summer, that he himself spends weekends there but is continuing to occupy his apartment in Yonkers during the week, commuting daily to the New York City office of DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. It was also learned by informant on this occasion that WILLIAM BROWDER plans to remain in New York City during the Summer but did mention that he might travel to his wife's parental home in Amarillo, Texas in September.

b7D

With respect to [redacted] ability to secure information in the future as to EARL BROWDER's activities, it is her impression, as well as that of the Agents handling the matter, that she will very likely secure much more information from WILLIAM BROWDER than from talking to EARL directly. BILL appears to be somewhat of an extrovert as compared with EARL and to date he has talked much more freely about his brother's affairs than EARL himself. Accordingly, efforts will be made to have [redacted] maintain as close a liaison as possible with WILLIAM BROWDER.

b7D

Very truly yours,

R. E. CONROY,  
SAC

cc - Washington Field  
NY 100-25693  
NY 100-321  
NY 100-7758

EX-80

RECORDED

40-379844  
FBI  
65 AUG 7 1946

Original copy filed in

b3



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 25 1946  
TELETYPE

CONE WASH AND WASH FLD FROM NEW YORK 17 25 40 P  
DIRECTOR AND SAC URGENT

[ ] ESPIONAGE R. REFER FIVE IS. ON INTERVIEW TODAY  
CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT [ ] STATED THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH  
SUGGESTION MADE BY WILLIAM BROWDER ON JULY EIGHTEEN, FORTYSIX, SHE,  
ACCOMPANIED BY MR. AND MRS. JACK REYNOLDS, WENT TO THE HOME OF WILLIAM  
BROWDER, NYC, FOR A MEETING. EARL BROWDER WAS ALSO PRESENT AT THIS  
MEETING AND LATER IN THE EVENING, ROSE BROWDER, WIFE OF WILLIAM  
BROWDER, RETURNED TO HER RESIDENCE AND PARTICIPATED IN THIS MEETING.  
PRIOR TO ATTENDING ABOVE MENTIONED MEETING, MRS. GRACE REYNOLDS INFORMED  
BOTH JACK REYNOLDS AND INFORMANT [ ] THAT UNDER NO CIRCUM-  
STANCES WOULD SHE PERMIT JACK TO GO TO MOSCOW IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND  
INDICATED THAT HE SHOULD CONSIDER HIS AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND HIS  
ARMY RECORD BEFORE GETTING INTO SOME SITUATION THAT MIGHT ENDANGER HIS  
FUTURE. INFORMANT STATED THAT REYNOLDS HAD BEEN DRINKING QUITE HEAVILY  
BEFORE GOING TO BILL BROWDER'S HOME AND WHEN THEY ARRIVED, REYNOLDS  
IMMEDIATELY LAUNCHED INTO A LONG DISCUSSION AS TO HIS AMERICAN  
FORBEARS, HIS SERVICE WITH THE US ARMY, BOTH IN WORLD WAR ONE AND WORLD  
WAR TWO AND HIS EXTREME PATRIOTISM. UPON THE CONCLUSION OF THIS HE WAS  
RATHER DEMANDING OF BROWDER AS TO JUST WHAT PLANS BROWDER HAD FOR HIM IN

END PAGE ONE

Memo Director  
Sac New York  
EHW 7-30-46

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Glavin ✓  
Mr. Ladd ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tracy ✓  
Mr. Carson ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Gurnea ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Hendon ✓  
Mr. Pennington ✓  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

b7D

PAGE TWO

GOING TO MOSCOW AND BROWDER INTIMATED THAT IT WOULD, OF COURSE, NOT BE NECESSARY FOR HIM TO GO IMMEDIATELY BUT SUGGESTED THAT PROBABLY NEXT SPRING IT MIGHT BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO MAKE THIS TRIP IN ORDER TO GAIN THE CONFIDENCE OF INTOURIST AND TO OBTAIN A MORE FAVORABLE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT. SUBSEQUENTLY REYNOLDS INQUIRED OF EARL BROWDER AS TO JUST HOW MUCH MONEY EARL PROPOSED TO TAKE OUT OF US SERVICE AND SHIPPING CORPORATION. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY REYNOLDS TO EARL BROWDER THE DISCUSSION OF THE FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS WHICH WAS PUT INTO THE BUSINESS BY THE CP WHEN THE CORPORATION WAS ORGANIZED WAS DISCUSSED. IT APPEARS NOW THAT EARL BROWDER AND REYNOLDS ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THE FUNDS THAT HAVE BEEN ADVANCED TO BROWDER ARE ACTUALLY PART OF THE FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS ADVANCED WHEN THIS ORGANIZATION STARTED BUSINESS. REYNOLDS THEN SUGGESTED THAT A PAYMENT OF ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS A MONTH BE PAID TO BROWDER UNTIL SUCH TIME AS HE HAD RECEIVED THE ORIGINAL FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS INVESTED. BROWDER SEEMED VERY HAPPY TO KNOW THAT THIS AMOUNT COULD BE PAID BUT SUGGESTED THAT IT BE PAID AT THE RATE OF FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER MONTH. BY AUGUST FIRST, FORTYSIX THERE WILL HAVE BEEN PAID TO EARL BROWDER THROUGH WILLIAM BROWDER THE SUM OF TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS AND

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

BEGINNING SEPTEMBER FIRST, FORTYSIX INFORMANT WILL TURN OVER TO WILLIAM BROWDER FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER MONTH IN ONE PAYMENT. BROWDER INDICATED THAT HE IS IN STRAINED FINANCIAL CONDITIONS AND DEFINITELY NEEDS AT LEAST FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS A MONTH FOR SOME PERIOD OF TIME IN ORDER TO CARRY ON HIS REGULAR ACTIVITY. HE EXPLAINED THAT IT WILL TAKE HIM ABOUT THREE YEARS BEFORE HIS NEW BUSINESS VENTURE WILL PAY HIM ANY SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF MONEY AND IT DOES NOT SEEM TO HIM THAT THERE WILL BE ANY IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF MAKING A LIVING FROM THIS VENTURE. IN HER MEETING WITH BILL BROWDER TODAY INFORMANT INQUIRED AS TO WHETHER ABE HELLER HAD RETURNED TO US AND BILL REPLIED THAT QUOTE THEY UNQUOTE HAD MET HIM AT THE PLANE AND THAT HE LOOKED VERY GOOD AND WAS VERY HAPPY OVER HIS TRIP. AS A MATTER OF FACT BROWDER VOLUNTEERED THAT HELLER IS MOVING INTO DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE OFFICE AND WILL BECOME A MEMBER OF THAT ORGANIZATION. BILL STATED THAT HE WOULD BE AN EXCELLENT MAN FOR THE BOOK AND PUBLISHING BUSINESS IN THAT HE ALREADY KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT THIS TYPE OF BUSINESS, SPEAKS THREE FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND HAS A GREAT MANY INFLUENTIAL FRIENDS.

CONROY

4  
HOLD PLS

Assistant Attorney General, T. L. Caudle  
Criminal Division

August 9, 1946

Director, FBI

40-3778-442  
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT

Reference is made to your memorandum captioned as above dated August 1, 1946.

This is to advise that the Bureau has no reason to either oppose to or urge the registration of Browder under the Foreign Agents Registration Act; however, in view of the information contained in the contract of Browder with the official Soviet Publishing House, it would appear that he probably is serving as an agent of a foreign principal.

The Bureau would appreciate being currently advised of any action taken by the Department or by Browder in connection with his registration as an agent of foreign principal. The Bureau would also be appreciative of receiving any information filed by Browder in the event he registers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

50 AUG 30 1946

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED  
AUG 12 9 17 AM '46

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General,  
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Earl Russell Browder  
Foreign Agents Registration Act.

DATE:

AUG 1 1946

TLC:NTE:NBL:vm  
146-1-11-356

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Gandy	✓

Reference is made to your memorandum of July 26, 1946 concerning the above subject to which you attached photostatic copies of the results of the interview by Department of State representatives with the subject and copies of the contract between subject and the United State Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

It is the intention of the Foreign Agents Registration Section of this Division to write to Mr. Browder concerning his possible obligations under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Before transmitting such letter, however, it would be appreciated if the Bureau would present its views to this Division concerning such a course of action.

RECORDED

EX - 59

140-3798-442  
FBI  
1 AUG 15 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY #

b6  
b7c

Attn to T. L. Caudle  
Criminal Div  
8/9/46

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division  
Earl Russell Browder  
Foreign Agents Registration Act.

AUG 1 1946

TLC:MTE:NBL:vm1  
146-1-11-356

Reference is made to your memorandum of July 26, 1946 concerning the above subject to which you attached photostatic copies of the results of the interview by Department of State representatives with the subject and copies of the contract between subject and the United State Publishing House of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the State Art Publishing House of the Committee on Art Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

It is the intention of the Foreign Agents Registration Section of this Division to write to Mr. Browder concerning his possible obligations under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Before transmitting such letter, however, it would be appreciated if the Bureau would present its views to this Division concerning such a course of action.

181  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY [redacted]

b6  
b7C

55 SEP 3 1946  
187

40-3886-1112

SAC, New York

July 30, 1946

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

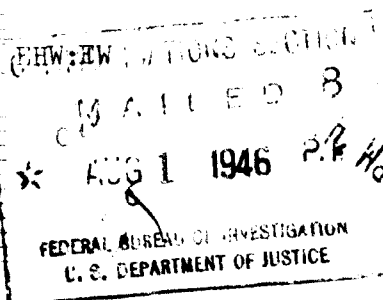
Reference is made to your teletype of July 25, 1946, entitled [redacted] Espionage - R," referring to the financial arrangements by Earl Browder and John Reynolds. Reference is also made to your letter of July 11, 1946, captioned [redacted] Espionage - R," wherein it is stated that the \$15,000.00 invested in the U. S. Service and Shipping Corporation is not believed by the informant to be the personal assets of Earl Browder.

b7D

In view of the reports that Browder will receive this \$15,000.00, one or two possibilities exist. Either Browder is taking it upon himself to obtain this money without the knowledge of the Communist Party or there have been some secret arrangements between Browder and the Party for him to utilize the funds. This, taken into consideration with unconfirmed allegations and speculations that have been reported both to the Bureau and to ONI and G-2 that Browder is either engaged in Soviet espionage activities or that he is assuming a leadership capacity in secret underground Communist Party activity, is believed to warrant your surveying the possibilities of installing both a microphone and a technical surveillance in the offices of "Distributors Guide" at 55 West 42nd Street, New York City.

The Bureau desires that you immediately undertake this survey and advise whether in your opinion such installations would be feasible and whether full security would be assured. This matter should be handled promptly and in the event the survey reflects favorable conditions a request will be immediately made of the Attorney General for authority to make such installation.

This matter is to be handled expeditiously and the Bureau advised in the very near future.



Aug 31 4 56 PM '46

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 1 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/23/00 BY [redacted]

TELETYPE

WASH FROM NEW YORK 14 1 6-00 P

DIRECTOR

URGENT

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
b6  
b7C

[redacted] ESPIONAGE - R, REFER FIVE IS. ON INTERVIEW TODAY  
[redacted] STATED THAT SHE HAD LUNCH WITH RAY ELSON ON JULY THIRTYFIRST,  
FORTYSIX. ELSON STATED THAT SHE IS STILL WORKING AT HER JOB AND INTENDS  
TO DO SO UNTIL HER HUSBAND FINISHES HIS ART COURSE. THERE IS NO INDIC-  
CATION THAT SHE HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH ANY OF HER FORMER RUSSIAN  
ASSOCIATES. TODAY [redacted] MET BILL BROWDER AND GAVE HIM FIVE HUNDRED  
FIFTY DOLLARS IN CASH AND MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET HIM AUGUST TWENTY  
FOR THE MONTHLY PAYMENT OF FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS WHICH WILL BE DUE FOR  
SEPTEMBER. BILL INDICATED THAT HE IS GOING TO TEXAS FOR A TWO WEEK  
VACATION SOMETIME AFTER LABOR DAY AND WILL THEN RETURN TO NYC.  
BILL FURTHER INDICATED THAT THERE IS A CONTEMPLATED CHANGE IN THE  
NAME OF DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, ALTHOUGH NOTHING ELSE IN THEIR  
CORPORATE CHARTER WILL BE CHANGED, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE OFFICERS.  
IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THE NEW NAME OF THIS COMPANY WILL BE EARL  
BROWDER, INC., WITH HYMAN GOLDBERG AS PRESIDENT., ABE HELLER AS  
VICE PRESIDENT., AND WILLIAM BROWDER AS TREASURER. BILL ALSO STATED  
THAT THEY ARE CONTEMPLATING GIVING EARL SOME SORT OF A TITLE, PROBABLY  
THAT OF VICE PRESIDENT, BUT THIS HAS NOT AS YET BEEN AGREED UPON.  
HE ALSO FURNISHED [redacted] WITH THIS WEEKS COPY OF THE MAGAZINE NEW  
REPUBLIC IN WHICH AN ARTICLE BY EARL BROWDER APPEARS AS THE FEATURE  
ARTICLE.

63 AUG 23 1946  
CONROY

ORIGINAL DIRECTOR

Earl O B Browder

Winterson

40-3798-443



## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*T.L.C.*

TO : Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM : Theron L. Caudle, Assistant Attorney General  
Criminal Division

SUBJECT: Earl Russell Browder  
Foreign Agents Registration Act.

DATE: AUG 27 1946

TLC:NTE:NBL:vml

146-1-11-350

Reference is made to your memorandum of August 9, 1946 concerning the above subject in which you request to be advised of any action taken by this Division in connection with the subject's registration as an agent of a foreign principal.

On August 23, 1946 a letter was sent to the subject soliciting his registration under the Act.

*FBI*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/20/99 BY

RECORDED

EX-29

28

b6  
b7C

52 SEP 4 1946

New York 7, New York

DECLASSIFIED BY  
ON 5/23/00

August 23, 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

Re: HELEN BLACK  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C & R

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

There is being attached hereto a three page log of a conference held between HELEN BLACK, head of SOVPOTO, and BERNARD KOTEN of the American Russian Institute. (S)(u)

This conference, according to Confidential Informant NYT 323, whose identity is known to the Bureau, took place on August 14, 1946, and it pertained to the announcement sent out to all music publishers by a man believed to be EARL BROWDER. The log indicates the confusion existing as to who is to represent Soviet publishers in the United States. (S)(u)

BILL, mentioned on page 1, is believed to be WILLIAM BROWDER. MIKE, mentioned on page 2, is believed to be MIKE GOLD of the "DAILY WORKER." MIKE's brother, also mentioned on page 2, is believed to be GEORGE GRANICH. (S)(u)

The "DAILY WORKER" for Wednesday, August 21, 1946, carried a story to the effect that GEORGE GRANICH had died the previous day. This is being furnished for the Bureau's information. 4

Encl. (4)

Very truly yours,

Classified by

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

Date of Declassification Indefinite

5/25/77 EFG/EGM

EDWARD SCHEIDT  
SAC

cc - 100-61018  
97-210

RJG:AO  
100-60796

RECORDED & INDEXED  
JUL 1 1946

40-3798-445  
F B I  
SEP 3 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

b6  
b7C

b3

b6  
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DECLASSIFIED BY  
ON 5/24/00

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by

EPG/EGW 5/23/77

August 14, 1946  
— P. M.

NYT 323  
Outgoing (In late)

I 2139 last  
To: Helen  
From: Koter (?)

Classified by  
Declassify on: OADR  
5-7-85

- X  
(U)
- K: Is that possible?  
H: I don't know. I'm cabling to find out. You see, he sent out a letter to all music publishers announcing his representation of his "Kristful" and
- K: And what happens to Ann Russ then?  
H: God knows that.
- K: I mean to Leeds, you have a contract with Leeds.  
H: Now that's the thing. They're simply in a rage, raring around and the whole music-publishing world is all upsidedown and saying to Leeds, "What does this mean? and who are you", and what not. And they, he sent this letter just saying he represented him so they called me about it, and I said . . . handling books about music see, books on musicians and so forth.
- K: Uh uh  
H: And I said I'll cable and confirm. So they were so mad about the thing that they, that Billboard went down, sent a person to interview him today and the person saw Bill.
- K: Uh uh  
H: And he said, "Well at present we have just this representation as it shows. Friday, we're cabling, by Friday we will have the confirmation about the music and you come back Friday, we'll tell you about it."
- K: Hmph.  
H: He's apparently out and out to smash our office, that's all. I mean he's just determined to do what he can.
- K: Well, apparently someone is determined to help him and  
H: Oh well, I know who's . . . Yes that's it. Somebody there is determined to help him, otherwise it couldn't go on. I cabled this afternoon. I said, "I'm convinced he's determined to smash our office and it must be decided whether we're to continue or not."

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

K: But not only that. But in this case it's especially vicious because of an existing contract with an American . .

H: Certainly

K: . . business concern.

H: Certainly.

K: Woo! I don't like that.

H: No. Oh it just gets rottener and rottener in Denmark. I'll tell you that. I'm going out and get drunk.

K: Oh gad. I don't like that at all. Where are you going now?

H: I'm going over to the Artists and Writers.

K: You are?

H: Yes.

K: Why not . . look, Rossie Zoglin (phonetic) . .

H: Yes.

K: . . is going to come by tonight.

H: Where?

K: Here, to pick me up. We're going to have dinner together. Why can't we all have dinner together and get drunk together?

H: Well, I'm going with Mrs. Little of the "Times." She won't mind getting drunk with you all if you don't.

K: Oh. (Laugh)

H: She'll want to know all about the Soviet Union but we can't talk all the things we'd like to.

K: No, no, no. Not with Mrs. Little.

H: Well, I have to go down and see somebody that's desperately sick.

K: Oh.

H: Mike's brother is dying.

K: Mike's brother is dying?

H: Yes. You know, he's got cancer.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

K: The one who lives in Staten Island?  
H: No. This is the one who lives here in . . none of them live in Staten Island now. This one lives down on McDougal Street.

K: Wasn't there one in Staten Island?  
H: Well, they all used to have a place down in Staten Island.

K: Oh. Because I remember when my friends Bob and Rose Brown lived out there.  
H: Yes, I know. Well that's Fanny. He's up in the country.

K: Oh. Well get drunk, but not too drunk.  
H: All right. I'm sorry not to see you both. I would like to. Well, I'll keep you posted.

K: O. K.  
H: When we sink we're going to have a big party.

K: Well we, when we finally get all these words straightened out  
H: Yeah

K: No better have a big party, even if it's bad.  
H: Yes.

K: Just so we can get  
H: Yes

K: Cleaned up somehow.  
H: Well, we'll do that. All right darling.

K: Get nice and drunk, Helen, but not too drunk.  
H: All right.

K: O. K.  
H: Bye

K: Bye.

END

SAC, New York

September 24, 1946  
40-3798

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to your communication of September 4, 1946, captioned as above wherein you pointed out that there is somewhat of a doubt as to whether Browder is actually in business for himself or whether he is operating a business, the expenses of which are in some manner subject to the control of publishing houses in the Soviet Union.

As you have been previously advised, the Department is in possession of a contractual agreement involving Browder and the Soviet publishing houses and undoubtedly the Department has studied this in connection with its request made of Browder under date of August 23, 1946, that he register as an agent of a foreign principal.

RECORDED

40-3798-446

Serial 1111

EX-59

RECEIVED  
OCT 1 1946

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

T 1

1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/22/99 BY [redacted]

*[Handwritten signature]*

b6  
b7C

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: September 4, 1946

FROM: SAC, New York

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated July 26, 1946, transmitting photostatic copies of the memorandum of conversation between EARL BROWDER and representatives of the State Department, and also of the contract drawn up between EARL BROWDER and the Soviet publishing houses, dated June 18, 1946.

In connection with the Bureau's instructions that the material be carefully studied in connection with the investigation of the affairs of EARL BROWDER, it has been noted that while BROWDER is to receive his income from this venture in the form of commissions on the royalties accruing from the sales, he at the same time undertakes to submit what would appear to be records of his expenditures, which are to be checked and approved at Moscow by the bureau established by the Soviet publishing houses.

The text of the contract, Paragraphs 5 to 7, inclusive, would seem to raise a doubt as to whether EARL BROWDER will be in business for himself or whether he is to be operating a business, the expenses of which are in some manner subject to control by the said bureau.

GJS:RMJ  
100-25693

*Dept requested  
Browder  
to request  
GJS*

*8/23/46*

*Let NYC  
9/2/46  
E Hew.*

RECORDED

40-3798  
SEP 5 1946

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/4/99 BY [redacted]  
# [redacted]

b6  
b7C

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. J. C. STRICKLAND *JCS*  
 FROM : Mr. E. H. Winterrowd *EHW*  
 SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: September 9, 1946

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Pennington	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

Attached for incorporation in the file captioned as above is the second in a series of articles written by Earl Browder for "The New Republic" magazine. This appeared in the August 2, 1946, issue of "The New Republic" magazine beginning on page 163.

Attachment

EHW:edm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 9/30/99 BY [REDACTED]

RECORDED  
 &  
 INDEXED  
 68

140-3798-441  
 FBI  
 37 SEP 12 1946

b6  
 b7C

63 SEP 30 1946



Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando in human wit, but the scope of the conference of 1946 is infinitesimal compared to that of 1919. Today in Paris only Hitler's satellites, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland are being judged. This is not Versailles, although the final act of the conference will be celebrated there, but rather Saint Germain, Neuilly or Trianon, as the French press takes care to reiterate.

Paris 1946 will establish the political settlement for the periphery of Europe. New frontiers and demilitarized zones will provide for the temporary security of the victors. But Europe's sickness lies much deeper and will become incurable unless its root cause, the conflict of Russia and the Anglo-Americans over Germany's future, is resolved. Everybody at Paris knows this.

# Report on Russia

## II. The Problems of Reconversion

by Earl Browder

**I**T IS NOT EASY for Americans to appreciate the Soviet Union's problems of transition from war to peace. There is little in our experience to furnish a basis for comparison. If an American is told, for example, that the Nazis destroyed most of Soviet economy in territory formerly producing 40 percent of Soviet industrial output, and that this amounts to so-and-so many billions of dollars, his first automatic thought is to balance it off against American war expenditures, and therefore to think of Soviet losses as less than American. He rarely is conscious of the fact that American war costs were paid out of increased production, and not by reduced living standards, and that this was the occasion for a vast expansion of our productive plant, not for its destruction. The Soviet war cost was, in the first place, in the destruction of the means of production, much as if American industries had been razed from the Atlantic Coast to the Ohio Valley. Any comparison of Soviet and American war costs and postwar economic problems in terms of dollars is, therefore, entirely misleading.

The United States has a housing crisis, for example, although there was no destruction of our dwellings by the war. What must be the housing problem in the Soviet Union, then, where great cities like Stalingrad were completely destroyed or, like Smolensk, had only

two structures left with upright walls, and these gutted by fire? These were the conditions at the end of the war in an area formerly inhabited by 90 million Soviet citizens. When one faces such conditions in the Soviet Union he blushes to speak of an "American housing crisis." There is simply no comparison.

For any serious grasp of Soviet problems, one must understand that for the Russians war conditions did not end with the cessation of hostilities. Before they can begin to talk about "normal" peacetime life, they must rebuild their shattered factories, pump out and re-equip their flooded mines and reconstruct their destroyed railways and highways. They must live in improvised housing and dugouts and cellars while they are doing it, for only the rehabilitation of industry can provide a foundation for later replacement of destroyed homes by good modern housing. The Soviet peoples still live under conditions in which the war and its consequences predominate, rather than anything that can yet be thought of as "normal" peacetime living. And this situation will require from three to five years to cure.

Despite the size of this problem, no serious visitor to the Soviet Union can escape the impression that it is being solved, that it is under control, that progress can be seen from week to week and almost from day to day in the restoration of life in all its aspects.

For example: On May 20, I visited the ZIS automobile factory and followed the production through from the foundry to the last station on the production belt where finished trucks were given gas and driven off under their own power. I was informed that production was up to 150 trucks per day. Three weeks later the CIO delegation to the meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions went through the same factory, and has reported on its return that production was 165 trucks per day. A 10-percent increase in production, in such a factory, over a period of 21 days is really something to take note of!

*This is the second in a series by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.*

*The New Republic, which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We publish Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

*The third article, to appear next week, will discuss conditions in the seven countries in Europe most heavily influenced by Russia—Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.*

*These articles are a New Republic copyright and may not be reproduced in whole or in part without express permission. — THE EDITORS.*

In 1941, when the Germans were approaching Moscow, all movable machinery in that factory was evacuated to the Urals together with most of its skilled workers. None of that machinery has been returned; instead, it furnished the start for four other factories now about equal to the Moscow mother plant, which had to be largely reëquipped.

The ZIS plant, like most Soviet factories, suffers from a labor shortage. About 30,000 workers are now engaged in all departments (trucks, passenger cars, engines for other purposes, preparation of new models soon to go into production and plant reconstruction and extension), but 10,000 more, who are not available, could profitably be employed. I judged from my own observation that two-thirds of the workers were relatively new recruits, most of them girls in their late teens and early twenties. Obviously the level of skill was not uniform among them, and the plant is far from having achieved the productivity of which it is capable. Its product, however, is of a high quality. I had the feeling, going through the ZIS plant, that I was touching the pulse of the Soviet Union as a whole, with all its complex unsolved problems, its tremendous dynamic energy, its unlimited hopefulness, its firm grasp of realities, its steady progress in the face of what any American would consider terrific difficulties. It made for deeper understanding of the reality behind statistical tables.

It will be a few years yet before the Soviet Union can give central attention to satisfying the demand for consumers' goods. There has been much improvement over the subsistence rationing of the war years; the supply of goods daily swells in the market while prices come down—tendencies which contrast with the growing inflation in most European countries on which I was able to check. The new Five-Year Plan provides for considerable alleviation of the consumers' goods shortage. However, it is clear that a few years will be required to repair the ravages which the war inflicted upon the standards of life of the masses.

**I** SAW the problem of Soviet economic reconstruction and reconversion from another angle when I visited a collective farm some 40 kilometers from Moscow. It is a dairy and truck farm of about 2,000 hectares, combining 213 families. It sent 235 men into the army, besides giving 30 percent of its horses and nine out of eleven of its auto trucks; despite this, it increased its production during the war. The work was done by women, old people and children.

"Your men are beginning to return from the army, I suppose," I remarked to the farm manager.

"Yes," he said, "but less than half of them stay here. The others soon leave to take work in the new factories that are opening up. They became machine-minded in the army. They are no longer content to stay on the farm."

"Doesn't that leave you with a labor shortage?" I asked. "And don't you still have labor controls which limit the freedom to move from one job to another?"

"We still maintain labor controls where there is a labor shortage," he replied. "But we have no such shortage on the farm. As a matter of fact we have a labor surplus. The operation of the farm has been so rationalized that it requires fewer workers for increased production. As a matter of fact, we do not utilize our electrical milking equipment now, because it would render many of our women milkers superfluous when there is no demand for them elsewhere. No, we still have a labor surplus."

**I**N THIS EXAMPLE can be seen a Soviet Union-wide phenomenon of the economic rise of collectivized agriculture, accompanied by a reduction of the agricultural population, with the surplus farm labor moving rapidly into new industry and the expansion of old plants. The fact that this movement of population takes the men first and that the women cling to the farms more tenaciously creates new social maladjustments which will take several years to solve. This is an unfavorable by-product of a process which is the very heart of the healthy expansion of the whole Soviet economy, and is a sign of its rapid and sound growth. Such contradictions are to be found in most aspects of Soviet life. Visitors who come only to look for the unfavorable side of these contradictions can, and of course do, paint a dismal picture of conditions under socialism. Thereby they transmit a completely false picture of that country and mislead their readers, even if what they say technically corresponds to the facts—as, in part, it often does.

This farm's record in the development of milk production interested me. It showed that when the collective was first organized, milk production per cow was very low, at 1,200 liters per annum. In 10 years, to 1939, this had been raised to 3,500 liters. During the war the yield had continued to rise; in 1943 it was 4,500, and in 1945 it reached its peak at 4,900 liters. The farm's specialist in animal culture, a young woman born on the farm and sent to college by its management, explained this progress in milk production. It is the result of, first, improvement of the breed of the herd and its standardization; second, improvement in feeding and care resulting from planned management; and third, improvement of the stables and technical equipment. These are examples of the application of science made possible by the collective-farming principle, by the size of the farm unit this made possible and by the close relations maintained thereby with the other social organizations.

At the end of our visit we had just left the chicken houses. "Are your hens reaching their quota of eggs under your plan?" I asked, recalling American cartoons ridiculing the idea of making plans as to the

future performance of chickens. "Yes," came the reply, "they are exceeding it by more than 20 percent."

This farm disposes of 40 percent of its produce at fixed prices through the government agencies which carry on the basic rationing of the country. The other 60 percent it sells on the free market through its own retail stations in the city at prices fixed by supply and demand. This does not include the basic distribution in kind of its products to its own members for their own use, nor the individual production of separate families on their private plots and with their family animals. Besides the basic livelihood drawn directly from the farm, each worker received in cash five rubles for each working day in 1945, and the central administration accumulated in addition a half-million rubles for expansion, mechanization and improvements. This is a typical collective dairy farm, and illustrates the strength as well as the unsolved problems, new and old, of Soviet agriculture in the regions unoccupied by the enemy.

This favorable picture of Soviet agriculture must be seriously modified by noting that in the devastated areas of Nazi occupation Soviet livestock was almost entirely exterminated. Since this was the area of greatest livestock production, the result has been to reduce the national census of livestock to its lowest point since the first years of collectivization. This is a bottleneck

in the agricultural economy which can be relieved only in the course of several years of intensive breeding accompanied by strict limitations upon consumption. The shortage of farm machinery caused by the war will be overcome long before the losses in livestock have been made good.

From these specific examples in the Soviet economic scene, it becomes more clear that the problems of reconversion and reconstruction are quite different from those in the United States, and that we obtain little understanding from drawing parallels between them.

I am bold enough, however, to generalize on two comparisons between Soviet and American problems and experience. I would say that in the field of technique the United States is able to solve, and is solving, its problems more rapidly than is the Soviet Union, but that this is being accomplished within a general economic framework which is becoming more and more unstable in its perspectives for the future. In the Soviet Union the technical problems of the postwar economy are being solved more slowly, although quite as surely, while the general economic framework becomes more and more stable, giving the population a profound feeling of certainty of direction and sureness in reaching its goal. Therefore, while there is in the Soviet Union a great deal more hardship than in America, there is also more hope and confidence.

# The Militarist Gamble in China

by Lawrence K. Rosinger

*Shanghai (by airmail)*

**W**ITHIN THE Kuomintang—the party which controls the Central Government at Nanking—there are a number of cliques struggling for personal advantage and power. But in terms of China's future development the only significant difference is between the dominant right wing and the politically weak, although numerically not unimportant, liberal wing. Between these groups there are also a number of leaders and ordinary members who deplore civil war and desire peaceful reconstruction, but advance their views only with the utmost caution, out of fear of the ruling elements.

It is quite clear from a first-hand analysis of the situation in Nanking that the government leaders who are most inclined toward a showdown with the Communists include Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu (party bosses of the Kuomintang), Pai Chung-hsi (Minister of National Defense), Chen Cheng (Chief of the Gen-

eral Staff) and Ku Chu-tung (Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army). It is difficult to persuade the right-wing leaders to reveal their views directly to the press, but they occasionally express themselves frankly on particular subjects. In addition, informed persons who disagree with them are less hesitant in describing how the right-wing leaders think and feel. From these and other sources of information it is possible to build up a composite of the outlook of the dominant circles in the Kuomintang, although the picture may not correspond in detail to what every individual is thinking.

The main argument of the extreme conservatives is quite simple. They say: "We cannot wait. Fighting is bad, but continuation of the present political, economic and military stalemate is worse." In this way they attempt to justify civil war to the anti-war or vacillating groups by appealing to their desire for reconstruction. When the question is raised whether the Communists can be beaten quickly, they reply that this can be accomplished in from two to six months. They argue that the Communists, although possessing the best equipment they have ever had, were defeated at Sze-ping-kai in Manchuria and that, inside the Great Wall,

---

*Lawrence K. Rosinger is the Far Eastern Research Associate of the Foreign Policy Association, for which he is now visiting China.*

# Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. J. C. STRICKLAND *file*  
 FROM : Mr. E. H. Winterrowd *file*  
 SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: September 9, 1946

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

Attached for incorporation in the file captioned as above is the fourth in a series of articles written by Earl Browder for "The New Republic" magazine. This appeared in the August 26, 1946, issue of "The New Republic" magazine beginning on page 222.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 9/20/99 BY [REDACTED]  
 # [REDACTED]

RECORDED  
 &  
 INDEXED  
 317  
 EX-8

40-3798-448

SEP 12 1946

b6  
 b7C

55 SEP 19 1946

*5 file*



# Report on Russia

## IV. An American Loan to the USSR

by Earl Browder

ON MY RETURN from Moscow I found that our country's long silence on the question of a loan to the Soviet Union had given way to considerable garrulity in explaining why we cannot make such a loan. I have some definite opinions on this question, and when the *New Republic* editors asked me to express them I readily agreed, even though these opinions are considered unorthodox by all "established" schools of thought.

My visit to Moscow confirmed my opinions, although I did not discuss this particular question with anyone there and my views are peculiarly American and my own.

The recent announcement that no conversations are progressing for a large American loan to the Soviet Union is generally interpreted as a sign of the much-advertised "get-tough" attitude—that the United States is somehow "disciplining" the USSR for daring to express itself differently on many international questions. This whole conception of the question is, in my opinion, quite unrealistic and unsound. It proceeds upon the unspoken assumption that American loans are some kind of largesse distributed by a rich uncle among his less fortunate relatives, a "favor" of some sort which carries an obligation on the part of the borrower to assume the relationship and attitude of "client" to "patron."

It seems to me that the USSR will not be interested in discussing a loan of any size or duration upon such a basis. It is equally my opinion, however, that the USSR will be seriously interested in a big, long-term loan when both sides have reached a common basis of judging such a loan as a strictly business proposition between equals—as mutually advantageous and necessary.

That is to say, a loan will become a practical issue when the United States abandons the "ideological" ap-

proach to it which is unrealistic because there does not yet exist the common ground in ideology which was made the chief justification for the loan to Britain. A big loan to the USSR must be justified on the businesslike and non-ideological ground that it will be repaid and that its use will improve the economic position of both borrower and lender. This businesslike approach is, if I am any judge, the one that is adopted by the leaders of the Soviet Union.

Strangely enough, it seems to be our American specialists in finance, the bankers, who take the lead in establishing the supremacy of "ideological" considerations over the realistic approach.

### LOANS IN OUR OWN INTEREST

The mass of American citizens seems to be unconscious of the fact that expansion of our foreign market is a matter of life and death for the American economy in the next few years, and that big loans will be an essential feature of such expansion. The general public does not realize that such loans are demanded by American self-interest as much as by the interest of the borrowing nations. Until this fact becomes the pivot of our political and economic thought, America will not have a realistic policy toward the Soviet-loan issue.

Our country is now living under illusions created by the wartime shortages of commodities and the seemingly inexhaustible domestic market. These illusions make the foreign market appear non-essential, something that can be ignored, where we can indulge our whims, prejudices and ideologies without restraint and without fear of untoward consequences. Truman's warning of last January that "no backlog of demand can exist very long in the face of our tremendous productive capacity" is forgotten or laughed off.

In view of the "ideological" doctrinaire approach of American financial leaders and the public apathy which is fostered by illusions of the self-sufficiency of the domestic market, the prospects of an American loan to the Soviet Union would not seem to be bright. It begins to look as though this country cannot get down to brass tacks until it finds itself in serious trouble. Only when the present sellers' market, with its rosy illusions, is gone, when America is up against the buzz-saw again, when the imperative "sell or die" is again enforced by glutted warehouses and mass unemployment—only then can we be sure that our present light-hearted attitude toward foreign loans will be taken up

---

*This is the fourth in a series by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.*

*The New Republic, which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We published Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

*The fifth article, to appear next week, will describe everyday life in Soviet Russia today.*

*These articles are a New Republic copyright and may not be reproduced in whole or in part without express permission. — THE EDITORS*

for review and revision. It seems to be impossible for our country to foresee problems and provide their solutions in advance without the compulsion of catastrophic difficulties.

As an American I am interested in a big loan to the Soviet Union because of the benefits it will bring to our own country. I consider such a loan doubly sound because it would also bring benefits to the Soviet Union and to the rest of the world. Such a loan is the factor, above all others, which holds the promise of breaking the log-jam obstructing the stream of world economic reconstruction.

#### FIGHTING OUR CUSTOMERS

The American "ideological" approach to foreign loans conceives of these loans as weapons to halt and turn back the world trends toward state-organized and state-directed economies, whether socialist or capitalist, toward something approximating the American conception of "free enterprise."

This attitude is a self-defeating one. Because of the existing relation of forces in the world, our policy brings about the opposite of its aim: instead of enlarging American participation in world trade it is minimizing it; and instead of halting the world trend toward state-controlled economies it is further strengthening this trend. The present American attitude toward foreign loans is doomed to frustration for the reason that the existing socialist system in the Soviet Union and the nationalization of industries on a capitalist basis in the rest of Europe (to some extent also in Asia and Latin America) are so strongly based and deep-rooted as to resemble the immovable object of the ancient conundrum of physics much more than the American opposition to it can approximate the irresistible force.

This conflict of policy between our country and most of our potentially largest customers promises to play such havoc with the future development of world trade as to become a major barrier to the most rapid rehabilitation of the world, and thereby a major threat to our own economic stability.

The confusion surrounding this issue is not clarified by stating it in terms of an abstract principle of "intervention" or "non-intervention" by the United States in the affairs of other countries. The tragic history of the Spanish Republic since 1936 is an example of how "non-intervention" is only a misleading label hiding the worst kinds of practical interference in the affairs of other countries.

It is a fact of life, whether we like it or not, that every policy—or lack of policy—on the part of the United States has profound consequences upon the lives of other nations and constitutes "intervention," therefore, of an effective kind. The problem is not whether the United States "intervenes" in this sense (that is quite unavoidable), but whether the United States is

capable of intelligently guiding the "intervention" in a way to promote economic and political stabilization and world peace.

It was, for example, unquestionably sound policy for the United States to declare, as did Roosevelt with China, that our maximum economic assistance to that country depended upon the avoidance of civil war, the establishment of a stable regime through a coalition government, peace between Kuomintang and Communists and the beginnings of democratization.

The fault in this policy is that it is not consistently defined and applied. Under former Ambassador Patrick Hurley it was quickly turned into exactly the opposite of what was intended, and only that gentleman's quick resignation prevented a major explosion in China last year. There seems no doubt whatever that General Marshall has been making a heroic effort to apply this policy in the spirit of Roosevelt. His apparent lack of success so far is perhaps evidence that other and contrary influences from the United States are working in the opposite direction. Thus it seems that even our best declarations of policy relating to foreign loans develop a fatal ineffectiveness. As a result we are becoming known throughout the world as a nation showing wide variance between its word and its deed. When Madame Sun Yat-sen, who is truly a friend of America as well as of the Soviet Union, finds it necessary to propose publicly that the United States withdraw its influence from China's internal development because its net result is to increase the danger of civil war, then we know that American reactionaries, whispering in Chiang Kai-shek's ear, are exerting more influence than General Marshall, speaking officially as Envoy Extraordinary.

#### THE BRITISH LOAN

The handling of the British loan further revealed how confused and self-defeating is America's course today. Here was a loan which was fully approved by the dominant American "ideological" consideration, in addition to being justified on economic grounds. But the British were left in suspense for seven months, themselves committed to the loan but uncertain if America would carry through the bargain. Little wonder they even considered calling off the whole transaction rather than wait indefinitely to know what was going to happen to their economy. It must have frightened them to know that their fate depended upon a debate in Congress and upon a vote of men whose ignorance of Britain and the world was demonstrated by that debate to be colossal. It is very doubtful whether the Soviet leaders would ever permit themselves to be placed in such a humiliating and dangerous position as that in which the British found themselves during the long congressional debate on the British loan.

Most damaging feature of the British loan, however, was its use as springboard for a campaign of

hostility to the Soviet Union. Mr. Churchill's trip to America and his speech in Fulton, which set the tone for too many speeches in Congress, presented the loan to the world as a measure directed against the Soviet Union rather than one for world peace and stabilization.

Now if the British loan is only part of an Anglo-American effort to line up the world for war against the Soviet Union (and that is the impression given the world by the speeches of Vandenberg and others), it has become folly even to discuss the question of world economic stabilization and reconstruction.

America will have to make up its mind: Is our foreign-loan policy directed toward world peace and economic reconstruction, or is it an instrument to prepare the line-up of a new war? The alternatives are mutually exclusive; they cannot be combined.

#### INTERNATIONAL HORSE TRADING

This ambiguity in America's attitude is given theoretical justification by those who consider international relations a field for the sharp bargaining of the "horse trade," or the "bluff" of a poker game. This attitude considers such ambiguity a virtue, and the sharper its form, the better the bargain which is expected.

I cannot judge the virtues of this approach to horse-trading or poker-playing; perhaps these methods are effective in their own field—at least I cannot deny it, knowing little of either pastime. But I am quite sure that the transference of this approach to the field of international relations is damaging and dangerous in the extreme, that it is unsound and that it ignores past experience and present facts. It can bring no good to America or to the world.

The poker-playing, horse-trading approach to the Soviet loan assumes that the USSR needs the loan more than the United States needs to make it and that therefore the longer we delay it and the more clearly we outline an alternative and hostile policy, the more profitable a bargain we shall eventually strike with the Soviets.

My impression is that the least profitable conclusion for America will be reached by this path. Much better results could be had by a frank and friendly approach, such as FDR obtained with such excellent results in winning the war.

It is true that the Soviet Union would find it advantageous to buy American goods in large quantities, which would require big, long-term credits. Stalin is reliably reported to have spoken in such terms to several American politicians and businessmen, mentioning a figure of \$6 billion. This envisions a volume of trade of considerable significance. There is no doubt of Soviet ability to make profitable use of such quantities of American goods, to place detailed orders for them without delay and to meet terms of payment on schedule. The Soviet Union has all the required characteristics of a "first-class customer."

The United States, because of its enormous accumulation of idle capital, needs new fields of foreign investment as much as it needs markets to sell its goods. It needs fields for investment abroad where its capital is fully safeguarded without the necessity of quick repayments, which America is unprepared to receive in goods in sufficiently large volume; that is, it needs fields for *long-term* loans. For such requirements the Soviet Union is a made-to-order customer. It will buy goods in a volume limited only by American capacity to furnish them; it can give American investment capital the most certain and solid field of investment for long-term loans of corresponding size.

The United States must have such customers, for without them our economic system has no prospect of maintaining itself for long without a major crisis.

The Soviet Union would gain equal benefits with the United States from the development of such economic relations; but if they are not developed, the Soviet Union suffers less harm thereby than we do, for it will have no market crisis, no internal weakening or threat of breakdown with mass unemployment, such as menaces our country if we fail to expand our foreign markets to the maximum.

#### RIVALRY WITHOUT WAR

The Soviet market is, of course, only a fraction of the world market. In the short run it will play the biggest role because it is prepared to place orders immediately and guarantee payment most surely. In the long run, given a peaceful world, other markets will develop in larger volume for United States trade. America's readiness to trade on a maximum scale with the Soviet Union will be decisive, however, for the *whole future of the world*, because in this issue we decide whether America is really, in deeds as well as words, moving toward a peaceful and stable world.

Underlying all economic questions is the issue whether the United States is ready to work out the rivalry between the capitalist and socialist systems within the framework of "one world" from which resort to war has been excluded, or whether we consider a military solution to be inevitable.

I must say that in Moscow I could find no trace of the idea of "inevitable war," but only of a "possible war"; whereas in the United States there is a growing volume and weight of opinion toward "inevitability," toward fatalism. To think of a possible war is necessary to prevent it from happening; to think of an "inevitable" war helps to bring it to pass.

A recent American book described in its title what is America's alternative—*One World or None*. This is not the expression of any ideology. It came from a group of American scientists and public figures of all ideologies except Marxism. It is a recognition that a war would be suicide and that there can be no victors.

The definite abandonment of war as a solution to



the rivalry between capitalist and socialist systems does not, of course, abolish that rivalry. This will continue within the framework of "one world" more surely and for a longer time than it could in two mutually exclusive worlds. But it will work itself out in other forms.

If we wish a peaceful "one world," then all those detailed policies—or lack of policy—which make sense only as preparation for war, must be systematically discarded by us. This means that our foreign-loan policy must be directed toward expanding economic relations equally with the Soviet Union as with Britain and equally with the countries of nationalized industries as with those nearer the American ideal of "free

enterprise." The system of economic interchange between capitalist and socialist sectors, and between "free enterprise" and state-controlled sectors, must be built up and stabilized, else the concept "one world" will prove to be a chimera.

Both the capitalist and socialist systems, under such a world relationship, will have to turn more and more to the satisfaction of the needs and desires of their peoples as the measure of achievement and victory in the rivalry between two systems.

Do the leaders of capitalist America lack the confidence to face this form of rivalry with socialism? If they do, they are displaying a weakness Stalin does not show.

## Land Reform in China

by Lawrence K. Rosinger

*Peiping (by airmail)*

ONE OF THE GREAT land revolutions of history is now taking place in Chinese Communist territory, according to Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, and Liu Shao-chi, member of the powerful Political Bureau, second to Mao in the Communist leadership. The widespread distribution of land to the peasants is a striking postwar development which has reached its climax only during the past two months. Although the methods vary from place to place, it is said to affect a large part of the 130 million residents of the Communist areas (as of the end of July, 1946).

I was told in Yenan that the territory involved covers roughly two and a quarter million square kilometers in Manchuria and about a dozen provinces of China proper, and that the only section in which the new land program is not being carried out is the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region of which Yenan is itself a part. This area of one and one-half million people experienced an important measure of land distribution in the old Chinese Soviet days, and since then many landlords have sold plots to their tenants.

In a recent interview with this correspondent, Mao Tse-tung declared: "The masses in the liberated areas want to solve the agrarian question. They are not satisfied with mere reduction of rents. Today it is necessary to carry out Sun Yat-sen's policy of 'land to the tillers'. During the past ten years we have at least three times persuaded the peasants to put off their land demands. Now Japan has been defeated, and the people are asking for land."

Two days later Liu Shao-chi, who took over part of

Mao's work during the latter's illness some months ago, enlarged on these remarks. "We did not want to change our policy after the war," he told me, "but millions of peasants have risen and demanded agrarian reform. They are right, and we cannot oppose them."

### METHODS OF DISTRIBUTION

From 1936 until the end of the war with Japan—that is, for almost a decade—the Chinese Communists followed a land program centering on the reduction of rents, interest rates and taxes. Distribution of land by the government was confined to the property of pro-Japanese elements or landlords who had run away during the war. The purpose of this policy was to raise the living standards of the peasants and give them a cause to fight for, while not producing a dangerous political cleavage between landlords and peasants that would weaken the military struggle against Japan. During the Chinese Soviet period in the late twenties and first half of the thirties, the Communists had unhesitatingly distributed the lands of the rich among the poorer peasants. The policy followed today may be viewed historically as a return to some aspects of this early program, with many of the conciliatory features of the war period. As Liu Shao-chi said, "Whether this mass movement can be mitigated is a question to be considered. We support the just demands of the people while we persuade them to use milder measures."

The most striking method used by the peasants in securing land is known as *ch'ing suan*, or "settling accounts." According to Liu, "Throughout Chinese history it has happened that landlords have taken the land or animals of the peasants by force, raped their women and inflicted other injustices on them. During the war of resistance the Japanese levied very high taxes in the occupied areas, but the landlords shifted the burden



SAC, New York

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

September 8, 1946

Director, FBI

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

RECORDED  
EX - 14

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reference is made to your letter of August 21, 1946, wherein you advise of surveying the possibilities of establishing the technical surveillance on the office space occupied by Distributors Guide, Incorporated. 4

It is stated therein that from the existing circumstances, it is not believed that such an installation should be attempted at the present time. 4

A review of your letter reflects, however, that there is no indication any survey was made as to the possibility of utilizing office space above, below, or on either side of the offices of Distributors Guide for the purpose of possibly using them as a plant for a microphone surveillance. 4

This matter, if it has not already been taken into consideration, should be surveyed and the Bureau advised as to your opinion in this regard. 4

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

AND FIELD OFFICES

ADVISED BY ROUTING

SLIP(S) OF Classification

DATE 10/12/79

REH:cm

Classified by

Exempt from

GDS, Category

Date of Declassification

Indefinite

EF6/EGM

5/25/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6

b7C



United States Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
New York 7, New York

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 21, 1946

Classified by [redacted]  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of declassification [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted]

EFG/EGM 5/25/77

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director, FBI

Re: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

DECLASSIFIED ON 5-9-85  
BY [redacted]

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF [redacted]  
DATE 1/17/77

Reference is made to Bureau letter of July 30, 1946 regarding the installation of a microphone and a technical surveillance of the office space occupied by "DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC.," in the Bryant Park Building, at 55 West 42nd Street, New York City.

Special Agent J. L. KIRKLAND, of this office, states that the telephone facilities of this building lead into a locked terminal room in the basement of the building. During the war access could have been had to this room, but now this is not possible. For this reason this office is unable to establish a technical surveillance of the office space occupied by DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC.

Only if and when the Bureau is successful in perfecting arrangements with the telephone company which will permit Bureau agents to gain access to such locked terminal boxes, as it was possible during the war, will it be possible to establish technical surveillances in buildings where such conditions exist.

Two circumstances influenced this office in deciding against the installation of a microphone surveillance. The first is the relationship between the rental agent and DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. Former Special Agent JEROME BROWER, while still an agent of this office, called on the agents for the building for the purpose of getting handwriting specimens of one of the persons associated with DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. Agent BROWER was referred to LEX APPEL, the renting agent in charge, who was not inclined to be cooperative and who eventually told Agent BROWER that it was his cousin, SIDNEY KOCIN, an attorney, with offices at 285 Madison Avenue, New York City, who drew up the incorporation papers for DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC.

The second circumstance bearing on the situation is that other tenants of a possibly subversive nature are located in this building; these are the ACTION COMMITTEE TO FREE SPAIN NOW, the VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE and the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SPANISH FREEDOM. The presence

COPIES DESTROYED

RECORDED  
INDEXED

GJS:BEO

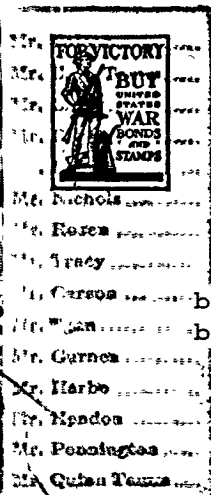
100-25693

842 OCT 5 1970

EX-14

37 SEP 12 1946

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Lt. to Director  
NY 100-25693

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 21, 1946

of such tenants taken into consideration, along with the indicated APPEL - KOCIN - DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC. relationship, lead this office to decide against attempting to establish a microphone surveillance of the office space occupied by DISTRIBUTORS GUIDE, INC., as it did not deem that proper security existed.

As a matter of information it should be noted that no telephone has been installed at the summer home of JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS in Bergen County, New Jersey, where EARL RUSSELL BROWDER and his family are spending the summer. Application was made for the installation of a telephone, but a problem arose presumably as to the cost of directing the necessary line poles, and apparently nothing further has been done about the matter. The home is in a very isolated area and at this time in that area there exists neither telephone nor power line poles.

Very truly yours,

*E. Scheidt*  
E. SCHEIDT  
SAC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

NY FILE NO. **100-25693 RFH**

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW YORK</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>9/18/46</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>8/30/46</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>JOHN M. COLLINS</b>
TITLE <b>EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, with aliases: George Morris Nicholas Dozenberg, Albert Harry Richards, Earl Broder, Ward, Dixon</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Subject, white, presently resides 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY. Employed as representative of certain Soviet publishing houses in U.S. with office at 55 W. 42nd St., NYC. Born 5/20/91 in Sedgwick, Kansas. Father, WILLIAM BROWDER, Sr., born 3/20/51 in Ill., and mother, MARTHA JANE BROWDER, born 1888, place not known. Married IRENE RAISER BERKMAN 9/15/26 in Moscow, Russia. was born 1/1/97 in Russia.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF DATE **10/17/77**

- P -

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau file 40-3798.  
Report of Special Agent Jerome W. Brower, New York, 7/8/46.  
SAC letter #28, series 1946, dated 3/12/46.

**DETAILS:**

Confidential Informant T-1 advised that subject, who is white, presently resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

Confidential Informant T-2 on June 19, 1946 reported that an unknown man in conference with WILLIAM Z. FOSTER advised that BROWDER had signed a five year contract as exclusive representative of certain Soviet publishing houses in the United States. According to this same Informant, subject's office is located at 55 West 42nd Street, New York City.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED <i>Edward Scheidt</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
COPIES DESTROYED	40-3798-45
842 Bureau 3 - New York CC DR 1-16-47 60 JAN 16 1947	RECORD & INDEX 8

47M  
NY 100-25693

According to a pamphlet entitled, "The Man From Kansas", written by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, subject was born May 20, 1891 in Sedgwick, Kansas. His father was WILLIAM BROWDER, Sr., and his mother was MARTHA JANE BROWDER.

In a letter dated July 16, 1946, the Kansas City Field Division advised that according to the records of the NEWCOMER FUNERAL HOME in Kansas City, WILLIAM BROWDER, Sr. was born March 20, 1851 in Illinois (city not given), and his wife, MARTHA JANE BROWDER, according to these same records, was born in 1858, place not known.

The records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 70 Columbus Avenue, New York City, reflect that on September 15, 1926 subject married IRENE RAISSA BERKMAN in Moscow, Russia. According to these same records, she was born January 1, 1897 in Russia, exact place not given.

- P E N D I N G -

NY 100-25693

UNDEVELOPED LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

\* Will continue to follow and report the activities on the part of EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, seeking particularly to learn to what extent BROWDER may have received specific instructions from Russian Communist officials with respect to what future position and procedures to adopt and to follow in connection with the affairs of the COMMUNIST PARTY - U.S.A., and also with reference to his activities in connection with his new venture as a contract representative for certain Soviet publishing houses. Possibilities must be borne in mind that such latter activities may necessitate subject's registration as an agent of a foreign government, and when sufficient information is developed with respect to the details of such working agreements, if they exist, appropriate steps should be taken to determine whether subject's activities are such as to warrant registration. In this latter connection also, the opportunities for espionage activity must likewise be kept in mind.

47  
NY 100-25693

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of Special Agent John M. Collins dated September 18, 1946 at New York, New York are:

- T-1 - Confidential Informant , whose identity is known to the Bureau.
- T-2 - Confidential Informant NYT 333, whose identity is known to the Bureau.

b7D